IÑUPIAT ILITQUSIAT: INNER VIEWS OF OUR IÑUPIAQ VALUES

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IÑUPIAT ILITQUSIAT: INNER VIEWS OF OUR IÑUPIAQ VALUES

A

DISSERTATION

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By

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Abstract

Iñupiat Ilitqusiat: *Inner Views of Our Iñupiaq Values* examines how Iñupiat pass down elements of our cultural heritage to future generations. The research is community-driven by the Pavva Iñupiaq Dancers of Fairbanks, families with Iñupiaq children in their household, and other Iñupiat worldwide. My doctoral research addresses how we view each *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq Values), how our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* have been passed down, and how we pass down our Iñupiaq cultural heritage to our future cultural-bearers. Participants talk about our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* to acknowledge that we are Iñupiat wherever we live. I assert that in order to conduct culturally appropriate research with Iñupiaq people, it is imperative to observe cultural protocols and values, to equally include Indigenous narrative history and Western literature in the review process, and to observe Iñupiaq methods and methodology when gathering data. I examined and applied the ways my ancestors have gathered and presented data, formalizing for academia an Iñupiaq way of conducting research. I have conducted 17 group interviews corresponding to the 17 *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*. In my findings, I acknowledge that our Iñupiaq values help define our heritage. They are embedded in our lives and in our stories. They are in our spirit, passed down to us through our ancestors. Each *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* converges with each other when we examine how each cultural value applies to our lives. We need to continue talking about our cultural values in every village to ensure our descendants live their cultural heritage.

Table of Contents

Page

List of Figures

Page

List of Tables

Page

List of Appendices

Page

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for awarding me a Dissertation Fellowship so that I may concentrate on writing my dissertation. *Quyanaqpak* to all of the participants and community members involved with the research, for it is their knowledge and experiences they wish to share. *Quyanaqpak* to my graduate committee for their guidance: Beth Leonard, April Counceller, Jordan Lewis, and Theresa John. *Quyanaqpak* to the Center for Cross-Cultural and Indigenous Studies staff, students, and faculty for their support and friendship; especially to my mentors: Ray Barnhardt and Angayuqaq Oscar Kawagley. I want to thank Katie Qaliŋak Cruthers and Larry Kaplan for proofreading my Iñupiaq, and Lorena Kapniaq Williams for giving me the Iñupiaq words for the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*. Lastly, I want to thank my family Amy, Christopher, Aaron, and Joseph Topkok for their patience and understanding. They helped me more than they know by taking this journey with me.

Chapter 1: *Aullaqqisaaq* (Introduction)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. He traveled by *Iayaq* and by walking. In his epic story, he encountered many people and animals, with many people actually being animals. He experienced spirit people and also a giant. The story of Qayaq is told throughout the Iñupiaq region, from the Seward Peninsula, through the Northwest area, and even in the inland Nunamiut area. This Iñupiaq hero's story is the longest one ever told (Brown, 1981; Northwest Alaska Elders, 1991; Oman, 1995).

This dissertation begins with a short description of Qayaq's epic story, an Iñupiaq hero in an *unipkaaq* (old Iñupiaq oral story). The story of Qayaq is the longest Iñupiaq story ever told requiring months to share his entire journey. I include excerpts of Qayaq's journey throughout the dissertation, because our Iñupiaq values are embedded in our *unipkaat*[1]. This dissertation and my graduate research were like an epic journey. I encountered many people and animals along the way. This journey was only the beginning, and it will continue long after my graduate research.

Uvaŋa atiġa Asiqłuq. My Iñupiaq name is Asiqłuq. My white fox name is Charles Topkok; and I go by my middle name, "Sean." I am Iñupiaq, Sámi[2], Irish, and Norwegian. My parents are the late Aileen and Clifford Topkok from Teller, Alaska. My father was Iñupiaq and Sámi, and his first language was Iñupiaq. My mother was born and raised in Teller. I was born and raised in Spenard, Alaska, a suburb of Anchorage. I am still learning the Iñupiaq language, and I speak Norwegian and English at home.

When the missionaries came and were documenting names, they wanted to include first and last names. Since Iñupiat usually had only one name, missionaries assigned another name. In

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[1] Plural for *unipkaaq*.

[2] 'Sámi' is the correct spelling. 'Saami' and 'Sami' are the Anglicized spellings. I found out from my cousin during my research that I am most likely Sámi from Northern Finland.

many villages, for an Iñupiaq to get another name, missionaries required that person to be baptized. The price for a baptism was one white fox pelt. Hence, when one refers to an English name, it is also referred as a "white fox name."

My sons and I are Iñupiaq, Sámi, Irish, and Norwegian. We are *Naluaġmiuyaat* (part or half White). My sons' mother is full-blooded Iñupiaq from Kotzebue, Alaska. I want them to be proud of who they are and of their mixed heritage. So we, as a family, participate in various cultural activities. We are active members of the Pavva Iñupiaq Dancers. We are learning the Iñupiaq language together at home. Before my first son was born, I started learning the Norwegian language, so that we can speak Norwegian at home. My wife spent a year in Norway and is fluent in the language. My sons are learning and appreciate all of who they are. They are also learning from other cultural values, which align with our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*. It is my hope that they are proud of being *Naluaġmiuyaat*, and they practice *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* (Avoid Conflict) by acknowledging who they are.

Overview

There are at least 20 distinct Alaska Native groups and languages of the Indigenous people in Alaska, and the Iñupiaq people are originally from the Northern part of Alaska (Krauss, 1982) (see Figure 1). The word Inuit means "people" and includes Indigenous people in northern Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. Iñupiat means "real or genuine people" and is specific to the Indigenous people in northern Alaska, the Alaskan Inuit. We Alaskans prefer to call ourselves Iñupiat rather than Inuit.

My dissertation is entitled, "*Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*: Inner Views of Our Iñupiaq Values." Through my research, I examine how we Iñupiat pass down elements of our cultural heritage to future generations. The original title of my dissertation was, "*Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*: Interviews of Our Iñupiaq Values," but then the participants were Iñupiat and hence the views came from *within* Iñupiat perspectives. Elders are concerned that our cultural values are not being passed down to our children (Lewis, 2009; McNabb, 1991; Schaeffer & Christensen, 2010, Village News Network (VNN), 1996). Reggie Joule states, "Unfortunately, today many children are not being taught through example, the values which they will need to be self-sufficient" (VNN, 1996). In October 2014, I had an opportunity to visit a classroom in the Northwest Alaska

region. Before I began my presentation, I had the students write all the cultural values that they know. Some students were only able to list three cultural values, while a few were able to list all 17 Iñupiaq values. This may or may not be the case in all classrooms in Northwest Alaska. Through my dissertation research, our research group shared contemporary inner views on each of the Iñupiaq values identified by our Elders. My study is unique where participants share that our cultural values are still being passed down through their experiences in contemporary times, in this study the 21st century.

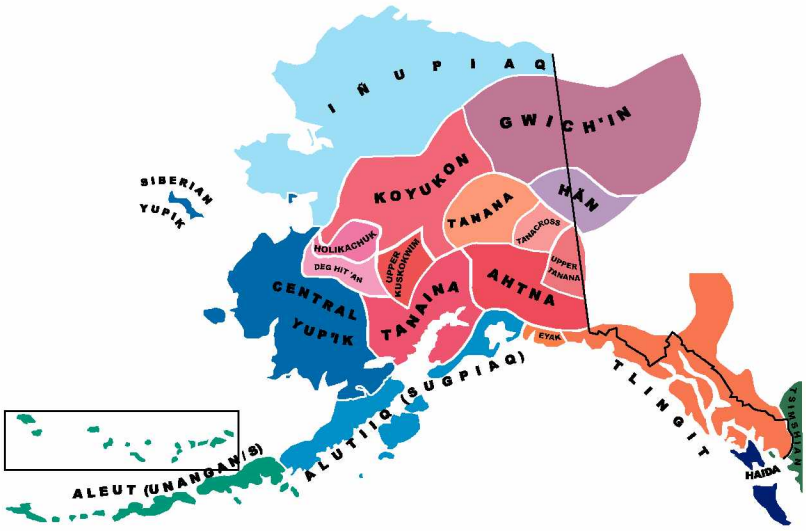

Figure 1: Alaska Native Language Map (Krauss, 1982)

My research was community-driven by the Pavva Iñupiaq Dancers of Fairbanks. I established Pavva as a non-profit community dance group in Fairbanks, Alaska, in 1999. I have been involved with Native dancing since 1987. Pavva was intimately involved with my master's project, "*Iñiqpaġmiut Iñupiat Quliaqtuaŋit*: Iñupiat Urban Legends" (Topkok, 2010). As members of the dance group, we began to talk about our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq values) to acknowledge that we are Iñupiat wherever we live. After I received my master's degree, Pavva

encouraged me to pursue my doctorate to continue a more in-depth research of our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*. Pavva was part of my focus group, and we also invited other Iñupiat to be involved, as well as families who have adopted Iñupiat children. In my master's project, I explain the history of Pavva:

> In 1999, I sought out other Iñupiat people living in Fairbanks. During the World Eskimo-Indian Olympics (WEIO), there are usually several Iñupiaq dance groups performing. At this time of year, in the past, is when I had been asked several times to start an Iñupiaq dance group. I was able to re-generate interest during WEIO, gathering contact information for those interested in Iñupiaq dance and culture. (Topkok, 2010, p.8)

We chose to name our dance group the "Pavva Iñupiaq Dancers of Fairbanks." In Iñupiaq, Pavva means, "toward the mountain, away from the sea." The group chose this name because they live away from the region where their parents and grandparents originally lived. We invite anyone interested in Iñupiaq dance and culture to participate in the dance group. At one point, our newly formed dance group had four generations from one family. During meetings, we talked about our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq values). We live our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* in everyday life situations.

An Iñupiaq dance group consists of drummers, singers, dancers, composers, choreographers, and an audience. Iñupiaq storytelling is similar with a speaker and an audience. The stories and dances can be past down through the generations or can be newly composed. There are two types of dances, *sayuun* (motion dances sharing a story) and *atuutipiaq* (common or invitational dances). Drummers would drum and sing while the dancers, which include males and females, would either perform the *sayuun* or *atuutipiaq* dance. For more information about Iñupiaq dance, I would suggest reading Kingston (1999) and Kakaruk and Oquilluk (1964). You can imagine this dissertation with drummers and dancers sharing their stories with the reader as an audience member.

Purpose of the study

When I introduced myself, I stated that I am Iñupiaq, Sámi, Irish, and Norwegian. I have been asked why I have chosen to research Iñupiaq values as opposed to Sámi, Irish, or Norwegian cultural values. I enjoy celebrating my cultural heritages and plan to research the cultural values of all my ancestors. The topic of researching our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq

values) was initiated by the participants from my master's project. Most of the members of the Pavva are from the Northwest region of Alaska. I chose to focus on the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* values as opposed to other Iñupiaq values from other areas, which can be areas of focus for future research projects. The members of Pavva and I want to gain perspectives from other Iñupiat and from parents who have Iñupiaq children in their households, since they are also stakeholders of our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat.* Throughout my dissertation I try to use Indigenous terminology in explaining differences in methodologies and Western academic jargon. This will be discussed in more detail in the third chapter.

Statement of the problem or "intellectual puzzle"

Mason (2004) offers four examples of intellectual puzzles (p. 18): developmental, mechanical, comparative, and casual/predictive. A developmental puzzle examines how and why *x* or *y* develop: racial attitudes, mental illnesses, and so on. A mechanical puzzle examines how do *x* or *y* work: a legal system, the human psyche, and so on. A comparative puzzle compares *x* or *y*: social institutions, groups of people, and so on. A causal/predictive puzzle examines what causes *x* or *y*: outcomes of situations, social interventions, and so on. What would an intellectual puzzle with an Indigenous paradigm look like? Mason's framework of intellectual puzzles connects "ontological and epistemological positions" (p. 18). I can see how the casual/predictive puzzle can be a part of my research, since Western influence has affected how the Iñupiaq cultural heritage is in contemporary times. I can also see the developmental puzzle could apply, but that seems to imply to me the processing of growing.

My intellectual puzzle would most likely be called an adaptive puzzle. An adaptive puzzle examines how *x* or *y* adapts to situations or environments. Indigenous people have shown their adaptability even before Western contact, and we continue to demonstrate our adaptability in contemporary times. Another example of my intellectual puzzle is a resilience puzzle. A resilience puzzle examines how *x* or *y* have recovered from adversity. Christopher Lalonde writes about cultural resilience in Aboriginal communities, "When communities succeed in promoting their cultural heritage and in securing control of their own collective future—in claiming ownership over their past and future—the positive effects reverberate across many measures of youth health and well-being" (as cited in Flynn et al., 2006, p. 67). Indigenous

people are still recovering from events and situations that have occurred fairly recently. Harold Napolean (1996) describes some of the recent events including illness, disease, Western influence, and the "Great Death" (p. 10). How has our Indigenous resiliency maintained our cultural heritage and values? The adaptive and resilience puzzles appear to fit an Indigenous paradigm and have influenced my research. These new puzzles I have identified align with how adaptive and resilient Indigenous people continue to be, and my theoretical frameworks in Chapter 4 will also address these them.

As Schaeffer and Christensen (2010) write, "…the critically diminished adult population and the advent of western society's nuclear family, as opposed to the traditional extended family also caused a break-down in the passing of traditional Inupiaq values from one generation to the next" (p. 70). In addition to the research quoted above, my informal conversations with Elders reveal concerns that contemporary youth are not practicing our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*. One Elder shared that some youth would steal money and medicine from their grandparents (personal communication, 2010). My research addresses these informal conversations that some Elders express about our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq values), and I examine how each cultural value had been passed down successfully to the participants and how we are currently teaching our children what each cultural values means, through written literature and personal communications.

My doctoral research is based on our Iñupiaq *unipkaat* (legends) and *uqaaqtuat* (personal stories). Kovach (2009) states, "Those well-versed in qualitative research methods will confirm that story is not unique to Indigenous knowledge systems" (p. 96). I have designed a qualitative study with focus group methods to examine how our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* are being passed down to our future cultural-bearers (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Focus groups are groups of specific people to focus on one project or question, as opposed to group interviews that may or may not have a target audience. In the next section, we examine the research questions I have identified for my doctoral program.

Research Questions

For this dissertation, we Iñupiat talked about our cultural values and how they were passed down as part of our cultural heritage. Before identifying my research questions, several initial questions came to my mind to examine this process: How do we pass down our Iñupiaq

cultural heritage to our future cultural-bearers? How have our Iñupiaq values been passed down to the participants? How do the participants define each cultural value? What activities do we experience to ensure that our cultural values are being passed down to future generations? What traditional stories include our Iñupiaq values, demonstrating our unique Iñupiaq ways of knowing? How can we involve our Elders more into our everyday cultural learning? What needs to be planned to exhibit our responsibility to our Iñupiaq children and grandchildren that these cultural values are being passed down? How can we promote cultural pride and encourage the youth to seek out their cultural knowledge? All of these questions can be answered using qualitative research methods with an emphasis on Indigenous methods.

Through my research, I hoped to answer all of the questions above, though this would be an expansive task. The questions above helped me narrow my research of my dissertation into these three main research questions:

1) How do the participants view each *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq Values)?
2) How have our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* been passed down to the participants?
3) How do we pass down our Iñupiaq cultural heritage to our future cultural-bearers?

Our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq values) need to be passed down to our descendants, because our cultural values help define our cultural heritage and contribute to our overall health and well-being. If our children do not consciously acknowledge and practice our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*, our Iñupiaq way of being will fade away (Napoleon, 1996; Schaeffer & Christensen, 2010; VNN, 1996). We are responsible for educating our children about our Iñupiaq values. I have been encouraged by my Iñupiaq community to continue my research on our Iñupiaq values. Through my research, it is my hope to document our knowledge based on an Iñupiaq way of researching and conducting an Indigenous methodology.

Research Significant to the Researcher

I want to point out that I do have a bias in this research, since I am also a member of the community. Some researchers may think that this is a weakness, while others consider this as a strength. I understand the pros and cons of being a member of the community being researched. For example, one may argue that individuals participated because they knew me from the community. As a reminder, this research was community-driven, and the participants encouraged

me to conduct the research and be an active participant in the research. I will be discussing my stance as a researcher within my own community in more detail in Chapter 3. I modeled my stance after the late Angayuqaq Oscar Kawagley (1993) who was a pioneer by being an Indigenous scholar conducting research within his own community. Through my research I have found that by observing our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* during *Katimarugut*, participants understand an Iñupiaq way of meeting and contribute respectfully and equally to the conversation.

The following are descriptions of the chapters in my dissertation. Chapter 2 *Qimilġuruq* (One Reviews It) provides an Iñupiaq literature and narrative review, looking at how my research is original and contributes not only to scholarship but also to the Indigenous community. Chapter 3 *Katimarugut* (We Are Meeting) introduces an Iñupiaq method and methodology, identifying the philosophy behind our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*, and utilizing the methods our ancestors used to gather data. Chapter 4 *Sagviqtuq* (One Explains Oneself) discusses my Iñupiaq framework, looking at the scholars and predecessors in my field, observing their scholarship and journey, and identifying the theories surrounding my research. Chapters 5-7 *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Kaŋŋituŋa* includes the participants interviews and distributed into three sections, designed to describe maintaining a cultural heritage (Topkok, 2010, p. 29): *Iñuk* (Person), *Iļat* (Family), and *Nunaaqqiq* (Village), data collected from the group discussions about the 17 Iñupiaq Values. Chapter 8 concludes with my findings, the *Aqulliqsaaq* (Conclusion), looking at what the participants and I discovered about the research, seeing how it can apply to other Indigenous groups, and recognizing that we need to continue talking about our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* and other Indigenous values. Just like the Qayaq story at the beginning of the chapter, let us begin our journey.

Chapter 2: *Qimilġuruq* (One Reviews It)
An Iñupiaq Literature and Narrative Review

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. His father came from the Eastern Mountains while his mother's family was from the Western Mountains known to have magic abilities. When Qayaq was a baby, his father mourning the loss of his brothers started teaching Qayaq to avoid harm. He used a stick to lightly hit Qayaq as an infant, and eventually fired arrows at his son who always dodged out of the way. He became a successful hunter and decided to venture out to find his brothers. His mother made magical *akutuq* (Eskimo[3] ice-cream) advising him to eat very little only in times of need. With the education from his father and the magic from his mother, Qayaq set out to find his lost brothers. (Brown, 1981; Northwest Alaska Elders, 1991; Oman, 1995)

Like the Qayaq story above, we need to look at our Iñupiaq *unipkaat* (legends) and *uqaaqtuat* (personal stories) and to see how these illustrate research processes, describe our own cultural values, and show us to continue on with our own journey just like Qayaq. We need to take with us the knowledge that our fathers have given to us (preparing for dangers and the unknown), and also the magic from our mothers (the experiences of our ancestors) so that we can survive, learning from both literature and narrative history.

Before we go into the literature and narrative review, let us remember the research questions: 1) How do the participants view each *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq Values)? 2) How have our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* been passed down to the participants? And 3) How do we pass down our Iñupiaq cultural heritage to our future cultural-bearers?

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[3] The Alaskan Iñupiaq and Yup'ik people do not take offense of the word "Eskimo" as the Canadian Inuit consider it derogatory.

Introduction to Qimilġuruq

In my literature and narrative review, I introduce *Qimilġuruq*, an Iñupiaq way of reviewing and translated to, "One reviews or researches it." Though the Iñupiat have practiced this way of reviewing for generations, the term *Qimilġuruq* has never been formalized for academic research. I discuss my doctoral research on *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*, Iñupiaq cultural values, gathering stories and views from other Iñupiat. Elders express a concern that Iñupiaq values are not being transmitted to Iñupiat children. I assert that in order to conduct culturally appropriate research with Iñupiat people, it is imperative to equally include Indigenous narrative history and Western literature to understand how Western literature portrays Iñupiaq culture and through a process of research framed within self-determination be able to express views from within.

Dr. Bryan Brayboy, a Lumbee scholar, explained three major reasons for a literature review: 1) the literature provides a reader an opportunity to become familiar with previously published academic research related to the topic of the dissertation; 2) the literature provides support and reasoning behind the academic research; and 3) the literature provides an opportunity to establish how the academic research is original and contributes to society and academia (personal communication, 2011). As a researcher, these three points are addressed in this chapter. As an Indigenous researcher, it is important, if not necessary, to equally recognize oral traditions and ways of *Qimilġuruq* (one reviews it). This chapter highlights what our Elders and ancestors have said about Native values, how our Elders and ancestors provide support and reasoning to talk about our cultural values, and how this research can be actively applied to the well-being of our communities. Therefore, in order to validate both the Western and Native ways of reviewing, the title of this chapter is *Qimilġuruq* (One Reviews It): Literature and Narrative Review.

In 1994, Edward Tennant wrote a course for the Bering Strait School District entitled *"Eye of Awareness."* Most of the research advisors were from the region, which includes Iñupiat, Central Yup'ik, and St. Lawrence Island Yupik. A teacher companion book accompanied this textbook; the audiences for this book are for the teachers and cultural groups in the Bering Strait School District, with comparisons between American and Indigenous values. It is meant to help students learn to be comfortable in comparing and contrasting worldviews. My

research fills the gap where the audience and stories come from the Iñupiat, extends the work done for this curriculum, and my dissertation is for all ages including those not attending school addressing cultural continuity with a focus group on the Iñupiat.

Schaeffer and Christensen (2010) describe the history of the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*. The Village News Network (1996) wrote a special report from children and Elders from the villages surrounding Northwest Alaska, but it was done in a journalistic style with very short quotes. My research is different from the report, since the group interviews and data elaborates more about the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* on each of the cultural values, showing its scholarly and community integrity. Dr. Catherine Swan Reimer (1999) writes about using the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* as a healing process, but it is from a counseling point of view. Her theoretical framework is based on Personal Well-Being (PWB). She does not define the cultural values, but she utilizes the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* in practice for the spirit movement yet does not address cultural continuity. My research is unique in that it provides multiple perspectives from multiple Iñupiat that contribute to an understanding of our Iñupiaq Values in a historical and contemporary context.

For the literature and narrative review, *qimilġuruŋa* (I review it) three themes: Outsider's perspective about the Iñupiat, Iñupiaq perspectives about the Iñupiat, and Indigenous Values. As a reminder, my dissertation is entitled, "*Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*: Inner Views of Our Iñupiaq Values." Before we begin to the literature and narrative reviews, it is important to provide an historical background of the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*.

History of the Iñupiat Ilitqusiat

Though the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* was formalized by the Northwest Iñupiaq Elders in the 1980s, our Iñupiaq cultural values have been passed down through the generations for thousands of years. McNabb (1991) writes:

> The Iñupiat Ilitqusiat movement in the Northwest Alaska Native Association (NANA) region has elements of both a revitalistic movement and a populist program, since it seeks to assert and validate Iñupiaq ethnic identity, reactivate and preserve Iñupiaq skills, and solve pressing social problems by using traditional wisdom that is part of the essential heritage of the Iñupiat. The movement was not articulated by its first spokespersons until

> 1981, however Willie Hensley's keynote speech at the 1980 Alaska Federation of Natives convention anticipated it. (p. 65)

With the disruption of Iñupiaq education (Northwest Alaska Elders, 1991; Okakok, 1989), our Elders felt it necessary to promote our cultural tradition for our future well-being. Rachel Craig, an Iñupiaq Elder writes:

> Ilitqusiat is "the way people are." Their spiritual characteristics motivate their attitudes and actions. Inupiat 12ayaq12siat actually means "how the Eskimo are." Your ilitqusiq is motivated by your spirit: happy spirit, sad spirit, fighting spirit, calm spirit. (VNN, 1996)

Our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* is connected with our spirit and who we are. When our Elders identified the cultural values in the early 1980s, it was called a Spirit Movement (Schaeffer & Christensen, 2010; VNN, 1996). The Elders started the Spirit Movement in hopes to help communities heal from the problem of suicides and drug and alcohol abuse.

Indigenous cultural values are important to the well-being of Indigenous communities and need to be passed down to future generations (Garrett, 1999; Ledesma, 2007; Reynolds et al., 2006; Stokes 1997). Dr. Reimer (1999), an Iñupiaq scholar writes, "In the last thirty years, the Inupiat Ilitqusiat has served as an impressive model in Northern Alaska in regaining community well-being and as a holistic model based on the idea of wellness" (p. xx). It is important to pass down our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*, because our cultural values help define our cultural heritage. Our Iñupiaq values are embedded in our oral traditions and stories (Brown, 1981; Northwest Alaska Elders, 1989, 1990, & 1992; Oman, 1995). We can learn more about our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* from our oral history and by talking about our cultural values through personal stories.

Below are the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* the Northwest Iñupiaq Elders have identified (see Figure 2). They are not in any particular order, for it is not a hierarchical list. I should note that since the research participants and members of the Pavva Dancers come from across the whole Iñupiaq ancestral lands, I also include other Iñupiaq values (see Appendix A for a complete list of all documented Iñupiaq Values). For the purposes of this dissertation, I focus on just one set of Iñupiaq values, the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* from Northwest Alaska. We chose this set of cultural values, since a majority of the participants are from the Northwest Alaska area. After this

dissertation is completed, the participants expressed an interest of examining the other sets of Iñupiaq values. My wife and I designed Figure 2, which includes all of the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*. The Iñupiaq translation comes from Lorena Kapniaq Williams from the Aqqaluk Trust in Kotzebue, Alaska. We have made t-shirts with this design and have given them away as gifts to those who participated in the research. Posters have been made listing our Native values, but some people mistakenly think that they are listed in hierarchy. So we designed the cultural values to circle the Iñupiaq Raven, which represents an Iñupiaq individual.

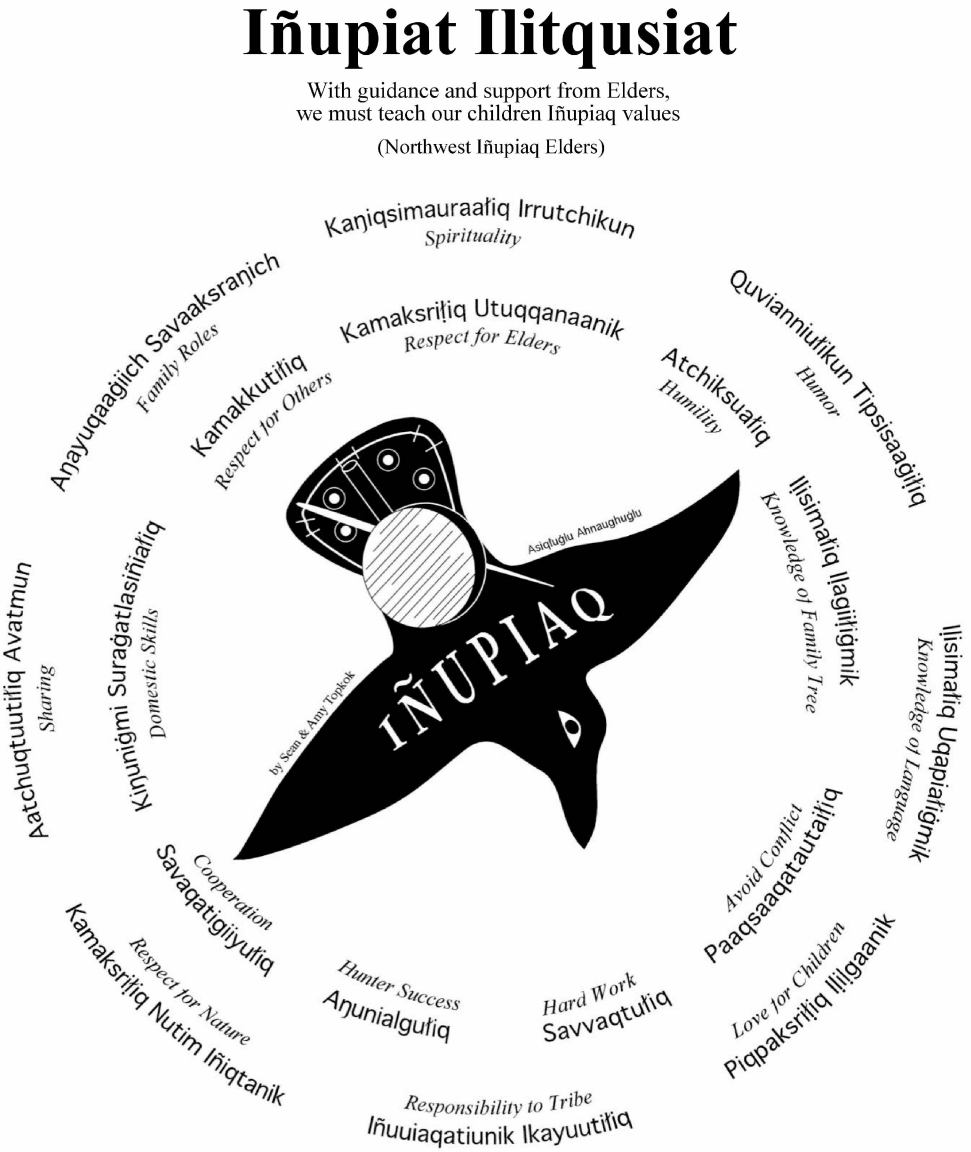

Figure 2: Iñupiat Ilitqusiat – Iñupiaq Values (Topkok, 2015)

In the first section, we review the literature and narrative history surrounding the Iñupiaq heritage.

Iñupiaq History

There are several accounts of the origin of the Iñupiat. I have heard stories from Elders when I was growing up about Raven making people out of mud. According to another Iñupiaq *unipkaaq* (legend), "A man and his wife found themselves on top of a mountain. With them was a dog. Where they came from they did not know" (Oman, 1995, p. 1). Iñupiaq research and narrative history is strongly dependent on oral traditions and the metaphysical aspects of cultural heritage (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; John, 2009; Kawagley, 1993). For example, Oquilluk (1973) writes, "The stories of the old people, handed down from generation to generation, speak of the Eskimo people when the world was young" (p. 1). Non-Iñupiaq research and literature are strongly dependent on written accounts and physical evidence. For example, one anthropologist writes, "The Iñupiat region of Alaska is one of the most complex archaeologically due to evidence of early occupation…with Paleo-Arctic tradition artifacts around 10,000 ya (years ago)" (Langdon, 1993, p.65). Another anthropologist offers a slightly different origin, "…ancestors of present-day Alaska Natives can be traced to two migrations occurring 10,000 to 5,000 years ago. The first group spoke Na-Dene…A second maritime-oriented group arrived later, perhaps 7000 to 6000 years ago" (Chance, 1990, pp. 17-18). The second maritime-oriented group Chance is referring to is the Eskimo groups. My research examines the oral accounts and metaphysical or intangible cultural heritage from the Iñupiaq perspective. We look at the two perspectives surrounding the Iñupiat: the outsiders' and insiders' (Iñupiaq) perspectives.

Outsiders' perspectives

The outsiders include non-Indigenous anthropologists, missionaries, and educators. From the perspectives of some early anthropologists and Western newcomers during the time of first contact, the Iñupiat were considered savages and primitive (Chance, 1990; Keithahn, 1963; Lund, 1974). Anthropologists and educators were documenting their experiences and impressions of the exotic Alaska Natives also known as "others/othered" (Meyer, 2001; Smith, 1999), since no written account about the peoples have ever been documented at that time.

One example of an anthropological perspective is *The Iñupiat and Arctic Alaska* (Chance, 1990). This book is required reading for the Native Cultures of Alaska course taught at the University of Alaska Fairbanks, and he provides a fairly good overview of Iñupiat before Western Contact. He uses an ethnographic theoretical framework; he provides material and sociological evidence before and after Western contact. For example, anthropologists usually write about migration, housing, diet, societal roles, clothing, kinship roles, social organization, ceremonies, beliefs, and transportation (Chance, 1990; Hall, 1975; Langdon, 1993). An anthropological perspective usually involves an outsider observing a community and interpreting what is seen based on an outsider's foreign worldview and whose audience are people unfamiliar with the culture. Hall (1975) writes from an anthropological point of view, recording stories from the people of Noatak, Alaska, from an archaeological and ethnographic study. He states, "Each story had a meaning beyond words and plot" (Hall, 1975, p. x). The *unipkaat* (legends) are very valuable information from as told to Hall by Iñupiat, and all of the royalties from his book is donated a scholarship fund for the Noatak children. The anthropological perspective contributes historical information. For example, Chance (1990) writes about naming practices when English and Iñupiaq names are given, supporting the contributions of my participants about naming practices. Many of the anthropologists focus on material evidence about a culture as opposed to my Indigenous focus on the metaphysical cultural values written *for* and *with* Iñupiat.

Of Eskimos and Missionaries: Lutheran Eskimo Missions in Alaska, 1894-1973 (Lund, 1974) provides some descriptions about the Iñupiat, but it is centered on the formation of churches in the villages. My *Auk*[4] Gussie Topkok and Aunt Maggie Foster are mentioned in the book as being dependable workers. This literature also gives one perspective about the Iñupiat from the time of early missionary contact. My research on *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* comes from within the Iñupiat and it comes from people of all religious or non-religious backgrounds, whereas this source provides a historical perspective about the influence of religion.

Edward Keithahn first visited and taught in the Iñupiaq village of Shishmaref. In 1963, he wrote a book entitled *Eskimo Adventure: Another Journey into the Primitive*. In the book, he

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[4] My family spells "Auk" for grandmother, as opposed to *Aaka* or *Aana* that is common in other Iñupiaq dialects.

shares how he and his wife were sent to teach in Shishmaref. He writes that he was not "being of a very religious nature" (Keithahn, 1963, p. 120). I want to include this literature since it comes from a non-missionary perspective, which is in direct contrast to other literature that has dominated the field. The missionary perspectives usually focus on the influence of introduced religion, and the non-missionary perspective is more of an observation than a study, but not always accurate and with a Western lens. Even though Keithahn includes the word "primitive" in his title, he describes a fairly respectful, non-judgmental account from his experiences with the Iñupiat. But this is still about the "other" from a privileged perspective. For example, "An Eskimo is not one for hasty decision. He has to sleep on it first. But, after about three sleeps, they came up with a plan" (p. 42). This quotation shows how the Iñupiat are deep thinkers, planning thoroughly before taking action, considering all their options, and engaging rational thinking. Lewis' (2010) dissertation research also found among Alaska Native Elders in Bristol Bay engaged in rational thinking and this is key to their well-being. There are no religious overtones in his writing, but it is still an outsider's perspective about the Iñupiat. There is no theory included in his biographical account of his experiences with the Iñupiat. This literature does not provide inner views/emic perspectives of being Iñupiaq. The missionary and non-missionary perspectives can be compared in some ways with the anthropological perspective (both perspectives influenced by Western values and concepts of "progress" and "civilization" that exclude "other ways of knowing, being, and doing") and are included here, even though they are written over ten years ago, and they provide examples of typical ethnographies about the Iñupiat. It is important to include this older literature to provide more context and understanding of the history and progression of the literature.

From early explorers' views during first contact with Alaska Natives, perspectives show Iñupiat as primitive and savage (Chance, 1990; Keithahn, 1963; Lund, 1974). Many contemporary anthropologists are now recognizing the value of Indigenous Knowledge Systems steering away from the primitive image (Dunbar, 2008; Jacobs, 2008; Kovach, 2009; Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008), which have not typically portrayed our communities and people positively. My research with Iñupiat perspectives, with deep-rooted first-hand knowledge and science based on our cultural values, highlights the Iñupiat are neither primitive nor savage. During ancestral

times, the Iñupiat did not have a written language and the passing down of knowledge generation to generation was dependent on oral traditions (Chance, 1990; Keithahn, 1963; Langdon, 1993; Lund, 1974). Our Iñupiaq *unipkaat* (legends) and *uqaaqtuat* (personal stories) were the only ways to preserve our history and cultural heritage before contact. The way Iñupiat learn is through hands-on, observation, and auditory experiences. This will be addressed in the final chapter.

It is important to discuss the outsiders' perspectives on the Iñupiat. They provide information about the Iñupiat from a historical perspective and my approach differs by because I am documenting cultural values and lived experiences from the Iñupiaq perspectives and from multiple points of view. An example of gaining Indigenous knowledge from multiple perspectives is from a meeting with Unangan (Aleut) and Sugpiaq (Alutiiq) Elders in Kodiak, Alaska. An educator asked the group of Elders for advice about developing a driftwood lesson. The Elders shared for over an hour about various uses and types of driftwood. Multiple Indigenous perspectives proved invaluable during that meeting. I do value these examples of literature, but it is also critical to look at Iñupiaq research from an insider's perspective to allow views from within a cultural heritage.

Iñupiaq perspectives

A second type of research conducted on the Iñupiat is research done by Iñupiat. There are quite a few examples of Iñupiat writers and researchers, for the purposes of this *Qimilġuruq* (One Reviews It), four examples of Iñupiaq literature and narrative histories are reviewed.

Johnny Kakaruk and William Oquilluk were from the same area as my ancestors, born in 1896 and 1892, respectively. Johnny Kakaruk is *atiiŋ* (my namesake), and my Auk gave me his Iñupiaq name: Asiqłuq. He was also an author and a dance group leader. In *The Eagle Wolf Dance*, Johnny and William write about the origin of a Messenger Feast from the Seward Peninsula from their area around Teller, Alaska. They tell how dances were taught to the Iñupiaq people, and they share what was taught to them about the Messenger Feast. They acknowledge that there are other versions about the Messenger Feast from other areas. For a more complete discussion of the Messenger Feast, see the dissertation of the late Dr. Deanna Kingston, a King

Island Inupiaq[5], who earned her Ph.D. from the University of Alaska Fairbanks in 1999. The authors write this book in the same manner as an oral tradition, "In early times, the storyteller began…" (Kakaruk & Oquilluk, 1964, p. 4). They have heard this story passed down from generation to generation embedded with our Iñupiaq values. This book is written and illustrated by authors who are from the cultural heritage. This is an example of an *unipkaaq* (legend or story of long ago). *Unipkaat* includes mythologies and legends, but they also include historical events.

Minnie Aliitchak Gray (2007) is an Iñupiaq Elder from Ambler. She taught the Iñupiaq language, contributed to several books including two Iñupiaq dictionaries, and is well respected within and outside the Iñupiaq community. In *Words of the Real People*, Aliitchak writes a chapter called, "Uvaŋa atiġa Aliitchak: My Name is Aliitchak" (p. 133-145). She describes her own life history including accounts from her father and after she was born in 1924. Minnie is still alive and active with her family. She talks about quitting school, getting married, and even working with the Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative. "Uvaŋa atiġa Aliitchak: My Name is Aliitchak" was transcribed from an interview, so it can be included as literature and *uqaaqtuaq* (life history or true story).

The Northwest Arctic Borough School District published three volumes in 1989-92, called *Lore of the Iñupiat*. Covey, the superintendent, writes, "The stories contained in this book reinforces the [Iñupiaq] values" (Northwest Alaska Elders, 1989, p. vii). The stories in the volumes include both *unipkaat* (old stories) and *uqaaqtuat* (life stories) from Iñupiat Elders, with our cultural values embedded, not specifically addressed, in the stories. Iñupiaq stories and life histories were recorded and transcribed to make up the series. Ruthie Tatqaviñ Sampson writes, "Over 400 audio tapes of elders' narrations have been collected over the years … At that time, the Elders wanted the information to be passed on to the younger generation" (p. ix). The series represents only a portion of what was recorded.

The late Dr. Deanna Marie Paniataaq Kingston, a King Island Inupiaq and anthropologist, wrote a book in 1996 entitled *Illuweet (Teasing Cousin) Songs as an Expression of King Island*

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[5] The people of King Island do not use the tilde (ñ) when they spell "Inupiaq." Another scholar has told me that the Iñupiat on all of Seward Peninsula do not use the tilde. One of my aunts from Teller told me to use the tilde.

Inupiaq Identity, based on her Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies thesis written in 1993. The focus of Kingston's (1996) research was on the *illuweet* songs taught to the Iñupiat living in the Pacific Northwest by her uncle Alex. Paniataaq briefly describes the importance of knowing the family tree (especially the aspects of teasing cousins), humor, and avoiding conflict.

My Master of Arts in Cross-Cultural Studies project was entitled *Iñiqpaġmiut Iñupiat Quliaqtuaŋit (Iñupiat Urban Legends): An Analysis of Contemporary Iñupiat Living in an Urban Environment* (Topkok, 2010). My MA research looked at the stories of urban Iñupiat, group discussions from my dance group, and my personal experiences to analyze contemporary Iñupiat, acknowledging our cultural heritage wherever we live. I analyzed how we viewed our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq Values) living in an urban environment. My Master's project examined 8 out of the 17 *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*.

Kingston (1996) and I (Topkok, 2010) due address cultural values in each of our Masters' thesis and project, but neither us of go into detail examining every Iñupiaq Value. My dissertation fills the gap by examining all 17 cultural values with just group interviews and including inner views from more participants than just my dance group members, including other Iñupiat who are not part of the Pavva Iñupiaq Dancers and those families who have Iñupiaq children living in their households.

The Iñupiat have a rich oral tradition passed down though the generations (Gray 2007; Kakaruk & Oquilluk, 1964; Northwest Alaska Elders, 1989, 1990, & 1992; Topkok, 2010). This parallels my research, relying on the data gathering through group discussions. According to Reimer (1999) and others, it is important and our responsibility to live and pass on our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* for our well-being and to become respected Elders (Hensley, 2009; Lewis, 2009; Northwest Alaska Elders, 1989, 1990, & 1992). Our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* defines who we are, directs how we should live our lives, and heals us when we are unhealthy.

Kakaruk, Oquilluk, Gray, the Northwest Elders, Reimer, and Hensley are just a few examples of literature and narrative histories written by the Iñupiat. The Iñupiaq cultural heritage written by the Iñupiat was not uncommon.

The outsiders' perspectives are focused on research *about* the Iñupiat. The Iñupiaq perspectives are focused on research *from* the Iñupiat. My research parallels the outsiders'

perspectives, since it is *about* the Iñupiat; and it parallels the Iñupiaq perspective, since it is *from* and *with* the Iñupiat. The way this dissertation diverges from an anthropological perspective is the multiple views offered by the participants, as opposed to a single interpretation. The way my research diverges from the Iñupiaq literature is my dissertation will contribute to the growing resources for Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars.

In the next section, I review the literature and narrative history surrounding Indigenous methodologies. These authors influenced me to continue to document our cultural heritage and to share what I have documented with others.

Indigenous Values

Indigenous Values Worldwide

Each Indigenous group has their own cultural values. In the *Eyes of Awareness*, the author states, "There are broad human values and very unique personal values. Between these two values are values that can be called strictly *cultural*" (emphasis in original, BSSD, 1994, p. 54). Within one set of Māori cultural values, there are seven: *Aroha 20ayaq tangata* (respect for people), *He kanohi kitea* (people's faces being seen and known), *Titiro, whakarongo ... kōrero* (use eyes and ears to understand place), *Manaaki 20ayaq tangata* (care and support), *Kia tupato* (being careful and considered in actions), *Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata* (exhortation not to trample on the prestige and authority of people), and *Kia mahaki* (to be humble) (Cram & Phillips, 2012, pp. 42-45). This is just one list of Māori values, and there may be other Māori values. Each Indigenous group worldwide has their own list of cultural values.

I showed Jan Henry Keskialo, a Sámi scholar, the list of Alaska Native Cultural Values available on the Alaska Native Knowledge Network website (ANKN, n.d.-a). I asked him if there was an equivalent set of cultural values for Sámi people, the Indigenous people of Scandinavia. He shared, "Such fundamental Sámi values are related to language, diversity, respect, security, traditional knowledge, community, multicultural competence and predictability" (personal communication, n.d.). Similar to the Iñupiat have done, the Sámi are in the process of formalizing their cultural values. I have worked with Alaska Native Knowledge Network (ANKN) since 1997. I have had many interactions with many Alaska Native groups,

American Indians, Native Hawaiians, and other Indigenous groups worldwide. ANKN continues to distribute several Alaska Native cultural values posters that were developed by local community members, Elders, and cultural-bearers. My work at ANKN and working with the various cultural values were a strong motivation to research our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*.

There are 38 values and beliefs for Inuit cultural values developed by Canadian Inuit Elders and educators (Aboriginal Learning Knowledge Centre, 2007). These Inuit values are centered on connection, work, coping, and government. According to the *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, each value represents a person holding a skin blanket (learning) for a blanket toss (journey). In order for a successful pull, each individual (value) needs to pull equally in order to help the one on the blanket.

Williams (2007), an Aborigine scholar, writes, "It is through these core values that we gain a sense of unity and solidarity not only nationally, but also internationally with Indigenous peoples worldwide" (p. 42). Even though Indigenous values may vary, there seems to be similarities among all Indigenous groups; for example: Humor, Respect for Elders, Respect for Nature, Spirituality, and Sharing.

Alaska Native Values

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, there are at least 20 distinct Alaska Native groups and languages of the Indigenous people in Alaska (Krauss, 1982). Each Alaska Native group has their own unique set of cultural values, and in some groups the cultural values may differ from village to village. However, all cultural values have been passed down for generations. It was not until the last few decades that groups have been identifying what cultural values each group is living. Some groups have created posters identifying their cultural values. Elders, community members, and other cultural bearers worked together to identify and create their own cultural values; they did not come from one individual.

Alisha Drabek, an Alutiiq scholar, shares her cultural values model in her dissertation. She states, "The values model I developed through this process is modeled after the Ka Huaka'I Well-Being Model by the Kamehameha Schools" (Drabek, 2012, p. 142). Dr. Drabek developed a model for the *Qik'rtarmiut Sugpiat'stun Sug'ucirpet* (The Kodiak Alutiiq People's Way of Being Human), through work with community members and Elders, and put the Kodiak Alutiiq

into five spheres and elements: physical sphere (earth), social sphere (people/water), cognitive sphere (fire), spiritual sphere (air), and ethical sphere (conscience). There are unique cultural values worldwide – each one is similar to and different from another.

In 1985, Denakkanaaga Elders Conference identified Athabascan Cultural Values (ANKN, n.d.-a). The Minto Flats Athabascan Values reflect the same 17 Native values identified in the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*. There are other Athabascan values currently being developed. In the Gwich'in (one of the Athabascan groups) region, Elders and community members are working on their own list of cultural values, and even looking at what to call their values. In the Yup'ik region, there is a list of cultural values called the Yuuyaraq, which means, "the way of the human being" (Napoleon, 1996). For the Gwich'in Native Values, the people are still trying to refine the list and find their own nomenclature for their values. As I have stated before, the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* is closely related to our *ilitqusiq*, which means 'spirit' (VNN, 1996).

With the C/Yup'ik Cultural Values, Cecilia Martz, a Cup'ik Elder, states that in order to translate to C/Yuuyaraq Values, one would need to properly learn the C/Yup'ik[6] language in order to properly interpret the language (personal communication, n.d.). After one of the Pavva Iñupiaq Dancers performances, a child asked about the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*, which was created into a *sayuun* (motion dance), "What do the values mean?" (personal communication, n.d.). It takes careful examination to clarify what the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* means to an individual and to a group.

Each Alaska Native group has their own set of Native values and all of them were developed with Elders in the communities. In Chapter 1, four different Iñupiat Cultural Values were briefly discussed: *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Northwest Alaska), *Iñupiaqatigiigniq* (North Slope), Iñupiaq Values (Seward Peninsula), and Paul Tiulana's Eskimo Cultural Values (King Island). There are several curricula and curriculum units in Alaska's schools that are based on Native values including, but not limited to: Effie Kokrine Early College and Charter School in Fairbanks, AK, Bering Strait School District (Shishmaref has t-shirts with a set of Iñupiaq values), and Deering School. The Alaska Center for Ocean Sciences Education and Excellence (Alaska COSEE) bases their fair-within-a-fair criteria on Western and Cultural rubrics, which includes cultural values (Dublin et al., 2014).

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[6] Cup'ik and Yup'ik are two language groups similar to each other yet distinct cultures.

Outside researchers, while with good intentions, attempt to categorize and organize in a way that is foreign to our Iñupiaq epistemology. Outside researchers tend to be very linear and systematic, which differs from the Indigenous, holistic, approaches to ways of knowing and being. Ken Gillgren, a communication consultant, developed a model based on the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Gillgren, n.d.). He distributed the 17 Iñupiaq values into three categories: Community, Culture, and Character. However, the participants in my research identified our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* as individual, family, and community; all three help define a cultural heritage. Gillgren's model separates Culture and Character from Committee, differing how my participants perceive to frame our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*.

There is a gap in the written literature specifically about Iñupiaq values. There are a couple of articles about the history behind the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (McNabb, 1991; Schaeffer & Christensen, 2010). The gap is these two articles are written from primarily a single perspective. The emphases of the articles are on the importance of continuing and passing on our Iñupiaq Values, but the articles do not identify the deep-rooted meanings of each *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* or identify how these cultural values are sustained. Students and community members have written only brief statements about each value, but this literature is incomplete and dated (VNN, 1996). My dissertation aims fills these gap with contemporary in the literature with contemporary and elaborated views from multiple participants and addresses the transmission of the cultural values. My research addresses how we view our cultural values, how our cultural values have been passed down to us, and how are we passing them down to our children in contemporary times. The participants' interviews are rich in content with *unipkaat* (legends) and *uqaaqtuat* (personal stories), which demonstrates how our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* are interconnected. This research contributes as a repository for both the academic and Iñupiat worldviews.

Qimilġuruq (One Reviews It) Observations

Outsiders' perspectives are often from one person's point of view. For example, Ladson-Billings and Donner states, "[P]ower relationships influence how research is collected and interpreted. That is, the sociocultural, political, and economic position of the researcher and the researched plays an acute role in how research is presented and therefore interpreted" (as cited in Dunbar, 2008, p. 86). The Iñupiaq research done by the Iñupiat provides a more accurate

perspective on the Iñupiaq cultural heritage. The Indigenous perspectives are more accurate than outsiders' perspectives, because come from within the culture and passed down through the generations (Archibald, 2008; Brayboy et al., 2011; Wilson, 2008). The Indigenous values need further examination in order to fully understand what needs to be taught to our children for cultural survival.

Dr. Catherine Swan Reimer (1999), an Iñupiaq psychologist from Kotzebue, writes, "The Inupiat use the Ilitqusiat value system that is strongly embedded in the concept of mind, body, spirit, and the environment for mental health promotion and alcohol and drug prevention" (p. xx). The *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* is a powerful healing mechanism. We Iñupiat have a responsibility to learn and live our Iñupiaq values, and we must pass these Native values on to our children. However, this literature does not define and examine each cultural value in detail.

Honorary Dr. Hensley states, "Iñupiat Ilitqusiat must not be allowed to fade" (Hensley, 2009, p. 223). The Pavva Dancers and other Iñupiat feel strongly about our Iñupiaq values and will continue to talk about our cultural heritage long after this dissertation is published. We have a responsibility to learn our Iñupiaq values, and we must pass these cultural values onto our children so that our culture and values will not fade.

In the next chapter, I introduce an Iñupiaq methodology, *Katimarugut* (We Are Meeting). We will see how *Qimilġuruq* (One Reviews It) – An Iñupiaq Literature and Narrative Review contributes to identifying an Iñupiaq methodology and methods which our ancestors have been practicing for generations.

Chapter 3: *Katimarugut* (We Are Meeting)
An Iñupiaq Methodology

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. After walking for much of his trip, he decided to make a birch bark kayak. He would gather and carve the materials needed and then go to sleep to continue the work the next day. When Qayaq awoke in the morning, the pieces he prepared had been assembled without his knowledge, with obvious signs that this was the handiwork of more than one worker. After several nights of this being repeated, Qayaq stayed awake to witness the work. He saw various animals working together to build his kayak. (Northwest Alaska Elders, 1991, pp. 97-99)

In the story of Qayaq, the animals worked together to help Qayaq. Qayaq did not ask for assistance, but the animals helped build the kayak. The animals are members of the natural community. The Qayaq metaphor reflects the spiritual animals as the participants in my research, Qayaq as myself going through a journey of research, and the 25ayaq and encounters as the research and cultural values. I can identify with this *unipkaaq* (legend) of Qayaq learning from his journey and receiving help from the community. If not for my community, my task would be more laborious and less valid; I am ever so thankful to them.

I ask myself, "What kind of questions can an Iñupiaq methodology address? How can an Iñupiaq methodology contribute to Indigenous research? Why is an Iñupiaq methodology so important?" I need to examine my research questions to try to find the answers: 1) How do the participants view each *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq Values)?; 2) How have our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* been passed down to the participants?; and 3) How do we pass down our Iñupiaq cultural heritage to our future cultural-bearers? The most appropriate ways to answer these dissertation research questions is through focus groups and engaging Iñupiat themselves in the study. In order to answer these questions and collect an insider's perspective on our cultural values, I have

developed *Katimarugut* (We Are Meeting) for an Iñupiaq practice as my research method and methodology.

Introduction to Katimarugut

In my methodology chapter, I introduce *Katimarugut*, an Iñupiaq research methodology translated as "We Are Meeting" – the phrase capitalized for emphasis. My method of gathering stories and meeting Iñupiat participants emulates the way our ancestors have met for thousands of years. The first chapter notes we held our *Katimarugut* in the meeting room at the Center for Cross-Cultural and Indigenous Studies at the University of Alaska Fairbanks.

There is a difference between methods and methodology. Methods are the tools used to collect data; and methodology is a theory and philosophy of how to conduct research (Brayboy et al., 2011). While this distinction is important, it is also important to note that my method of collecting stories is imbedded in my Iñupiaq philosophy, making the process culturally appropriate. To this end, I am making a direct link between how I do something and the ways I think about what I am doing as my ancestors have done.

Though the Iñupiat have practiced this methodology for generations, to my knowledge the term *Katimarugut* has never been formalized as an academic methodology. I am using traditional Iñupiaq practices in my dissertation, because they enable me to answer the research questions, engage community members, and collect stories from an insider's perspective. I discuss my doctoral research methods on *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq values) gathering stories and views from other Iñupiat. It has been documented that Elders express a concern that Iñupiaq values are not being transmitted to Iñupiat children (McNabb, 1991; Schaeffer & Christensen, 2010; VNN, 1996). I assert that in order to conduct culturally-appropriate research with Iñupiat people, it is imperative to observe cultural protocols and values within an Iñupiaq methodology. In my research, I address Reggie Joule's and the Elders' concern about the fact that the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* not being transmitted to our children by focusing one of my research questions specifically on our descendants, in the matter of passing our Iñupiaq cultural heritage to our future cultural-bearers.

The introduction of an Iñupiaq way of conducting research informs the dissertation research questions. I include the Iñupiaq values from Northwest Alaska Elders, and our examination of each observed value during our meetings.

Iñupiat Meetings

In ancestral times, our Iñupiat relatives would meet in a community house or hall called a *qargi* (MacLean, 1986). Whenever there was a need for the community to meet, they would gather in the *qargi* to discuss and resolve any issues by requesting consensus from the community. If there were a community feast, they would celebrate in the *qargi*. The Iñupiat would gather in the *qargi* when storytelling activities took place, most commonly during the winter. In Fairbanks, we do not have a contemporary version of a *qargi*, so if we generally need to have a meeting, we meet at various locations. We will now look at the ways some Māori have identified as the philosophy driving their research.

I have named my Iñupiaq method and methodology *Katimarugut*, meaning, "We Are Meeting." I did not want to call my methodology *Qargi*, even though it is a place for meetings. My Iñupiaq methodology is an action, as opposed to an object. Our language is based on our verbs or actions. Our vocabulary focuses on verbs, and some Iñupiaq phrases do not even require a subject. We start with a word like "walk" and then depending on the ending of the word, identify a possible subject. In the Kobuk dialect, *Pisruktuq* is 'he or she is walking,' while *pisruktut* is 'they (three or more) are walking.' English is based on nouns or objects. Many English phrases start with a noun, followed by a verb. The base "*katima-*" (to meet) with the ending "*-rugut*" (first-person plural 'we') makes my methodology verb-based, an Iñupiaq way of conducting research. I include myself as a member of the research participants when I am conducting my research; therefore I am a "participant-observer" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, pp. 91-93). The word *Katimarugut* is first-person plural, instead of third-person plural (they). Recognizing my ancestors' philosophy is a process, like the written projects Smith's students have completed, helps me to decolonize my Iñupiaq methodology (Dunbar, 2008; Jacobs, 2008; Kovach, 2009; Meyer, 2001; Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008). Now that the etymology of *Katimarugut* has been introduced, a brief critique of Indigenous methodologies will follow in the next section.

Other Indigenous Methodologies

Hawaiians and Māori hold gatherings and meetings called *hui* (Salmond, 1985), which originally were meetings specifically for Indigenous purposes. The concept and methodology of *hui* is significant particularly for Indigenous scholarship, since it is derived from an Indigenous practice. *Hui* provides an example of an Indigenous method for gathering data through meetings and research being formalized and practiced. In Summer 2011, I attended the 2nd Annual International Hui held at Chena Hot Springs, Alaska, and participants were Indigenous scholars from Australia, Aotearoa, Canada, Hawai'i, Arizona, Montana, and Alaska. At this *hui*, we discussed issues pertaining to Indigenous graduate students at the international level. This was also a safe place for Indigenous students to share experiences, challenges, and successes in graduate school. The Iñupiat have held meetings before Western contact, but a nomenclature for these meetings has never been formalized for academic purposes, making *Katimarugut* an original contribution to Indigenous and non-Indigenous research.

In contemporary times, Indigenous scholars emphasize we need to decolonize our methodologies in order to have an authentic study (Dunbar, 2008; Jacobs, 2008; Kovach, 2009; Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008). My research engaged in this concept by following Iñupiaq protocols, which I explain later in this chapter. It is our responsibility to identify the philosophy guiding our methods and practice the methods our ancestors have collected in order to survive and maintain our culture heritage. As Ashis Nandy states, "the structures of colonialism contain rules by which colonial encounters occur and are 'managed'" (as cited in Smith, 1999, p. 8). As Indigenous scholars obtain higher education degrees, identifying a methodology was mostly from a Western perspective. We need to recognize our own Indigenous ways of thinking, and we need to formalize our own Indigenous methodologies, a process that is gaining momentum (Archibald, 2008; Counceller, 2010; John, 2009; Kawagley, 1993; Leonard, 2007; Lewis, 2009; Wilson, 2008).

Indigenous scholars encourage Indigenous doctoral students to use their own cultural heritage as a 'valid' source of knowledge (Jacobs, 2008). Indigenous researchers need to acknowledge our ways of knowing are just as valid as other ways of knowing. Indigenous people need to understand our knowledge should be at the same level as Western science and should

also be employed by Indigenous researchers. As Indigenous researchers, we have a responsibility to meet the bureaucratic requirement of scholarly publications, working with Western academics and Indigenous scholars, the latter being the most critical (Kovach, 2009), but we must also write for and with Indigenous communities. Any research about an Indigenous community should be written in vocabulary the community can understand. Indigenous scholars are the most critical toward other Indigenous scholars, setting high expectations for each other to demonstrate Indigenous ways of researching to fulfill academic expectations and rigorous as Western science. It is an unwritten understanding that Indigenous graduate committee members are under a microscope by some non-Indigenous committee members to make sure the Indigenous scholar is not being too lenient on the Indigenous graduate student.

Gathering Data Utilizing Cultural Protocols

The participants in my research are: the Pavva Iñupiaq Dancers of Fairbanks, other Iñupiat, and families with Iñupiaq children in their household talk about our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* during meetings. Pavva is a community dance group, learning and sharing our Iñupiaq dances and heritage. Our non-profit bylaws states, "Each member has effectively demonstrated his or her interest to follow and pass on the Iñupiaq Values set by our Elders."

The Pavva Iñupiaq Dancers of Fairbanks encourages anyone, Native or non-Native, interested in learning about our culture to join our group. Many members of our dance group include Iñupiaq people from all over the Iñupiaq region. We have members from the Bering Strait, NANA (Northwest Arctic), and Arctic Slope regions. According to Dr. Edna MacLean (1980), an Iñupiaq scholar from Barrow, "Alaskan Iñupiaq has four major dialects: North Slope, Malimuit, Qawiaraq and Bering Strait" (p. iii). The dialect "Qawiaraq" is MacLean's spelling for Kauwerak. The participants in my research are from each dialectal group mentioned. The Iñupiat originally occupied the coastal areas in northwest Alaska, and still do today. Presently, there are Iñupiat residing in other parts of Alaska, as well as other parts of the world.

In the *qargi*, community members spoke whenever they felt it necessary to speak. This method may be related to an Indigenous talking circle, but we do not sit and go around in a circle. A similar method would be like a town hall meeting, with specific Iñupiaq cultural protocols we must follow. These cultural protocols are a method developing in response to a

system of values. One of our protocols is to allow our Elders, or older members within the group, to talk first so we can all learn from their experiences, and to allocate time at the closing of the meeting to reflect on what had been said, allowing the Elders to provide final thoughts. Another cultural protocol observed is to refrain from interrupting a person, providing an opportunity for that individual to communicate what she or he wants to share without breaking her or his train of thought. There are other cultural protocols, which cannot be explained; a person must experience *Katimarugut* in order to understand these protocols. The cultural protocols help with Iñupiaq well-being.

The role of Elders as educators has changed with the introduction to the Western way of life. Okakok (1989), an Iñupiaq scholar, writes, "The purpose of these long storytelling sessions [from Elders]— that of passing down values and other important elements of our culture — is severely restricted" (p. 407). The group's hope is traditional dancing providing a culturally healthy recreation, as well as having an avenue to share our Iñupiaq cultural heritage with one another. I hope that my *Katimarugut* Methodology may also provide an avenue to engage storytelling and cultural listening.

Methods

As a reminder, the participants involved in my research were members of the Pavva Iñupiaq Dancers, other Iñupiat who are non-members, and families with an Iñupiaq child living in the household. All participants volunteered to be involved in the research. Typically, a *Katimarugut* was scheduled and advertised through announcements via the dance group message board, flyers posted on and off campus, social media, electronic mail, and word-of-mouth (Lewins & Silver, 2007; Mohatt et al., 2007; Tucker et al., 1993) advertising one cultural value to be discussed. I provided food for every *Katimarugut,* because many of the meetings took place during the early evenings right after the workday. All participants were given an Informed Consent Form (ICF) (see Appendix B). I went through the ICF with each individual confirming the participant understood everything, and I answered any questions that arose. The ICF has a place for pseudonyms to be used if they chose to be identified, and all participants chose their Iñupiaq names. After we ate, we talked about the cultural value during a *Katimarugut*, meetings lasted between 45 minutes to over an hour, with each meeting digitally recorded, transcribed, and

analyzed. We had 17 group meetings discussing each of our 17 *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq Values). The demographics information of my participants include:

Table 1: Participants

	Female	Male
Iñupiat	8	4
Non-Iñupiat	4	0
Ages 18-19	2	1
Ages 20-29	1	0
Ages 30-39	1	0
Ages 40-49	2	1
Ages 50-59	4	2
> 60 years old	1	1
No Iñupiaq Language	2	0
Some Iñupiaq Language	8	2
Proficient Iñupiaq Language	2	2

I included myself in the research since I am an Iñupiaq person. We ended each session by asking if there were any other contributions to our discussions and gave participants an opportunity to contact me if they thought of something more to add to the discussions, which none did. I transcribed the conversations; transcripts were returned to participants for any changes, the participants and myself extracted excerpts by reviewing the transcripts, and dissertation drafts were sent to all participants for review. All participants had the opportunity to add or delete anything they shared throughout the whole process and none of the participants opted to have any changes made to their transcripts. All participants had an opportunity to proofread for accuracy and to allow statements to be omitted or expanded, which none did. Some meetings were longer than others, and some participants shared more extensively than others. The length of the meetings varied with each cultural value discussed, depended on the number of participants present, and so on. The participants and I did not want to take their rich quotes out of context, so some of the following chapters are quite lengthy.

I am at a stage in my life where I am provided with an incredible opportunity. I am an Iñupiaq researcher, conducting research with other Iñupiat, and doing it in an Iñupiaq way that is congruent with the ways in which our ancestors engaged the world and each other. Kovach (2009) writes:

> Research carried out through Indigenous methodologies, of necessity, requires individuals who are in a position to evaluate both the framework and subsequent findings according to specific procedural guidelines and protocols…Clearly, more scholarship based on Indigenous research frameworks is needed. This will ensure that Indigenous research practice, method, findings, and meanings will be judged as credible according to tribal epistemologies. (p. 133)

When we have *Katimarugut*, we are conducting research firstly for our own benefit. Though I am writing about our findings as my dissertation, having a Western institution evaluate it for a degree program, I must also keep in mind the dissertation needs to meet the cultural criteria of the Iñupiat people. This Iñupiaq methodology needs to be shared with other Indigenous researchers and be included with other Indigenous frameworks.

My research takes a deeper look at our Iñupiaq values from an Iñupiat perspective. I have introduced an Iñupiaq method and methodology. The storytellers have been established. I have shared why our Elders and community feel the importance for our well-being to explore our cultural values and heritage.

Location of Group Interviews

We wanted to make meetings for my doctoral research as comfortable as possible, so we decided to hold our *Katimarugut* in the meeting room at the Center for Cross-Cultural and Indigenous Studies at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. The room has plenty of space, chairs, and tables allowing participants to sit in a circle. It also has a conference phone to allow participants who do not live in the Fairbanks area to participate in our meetings.

We had participants in person, but also Iñupiat in other locations outside of Fairbanks. The age range and gender varied depending on participants' interest in Iñupiaq values being discussed and availability for each meeting; however, all participants were 18 years old or older. With my Informed Consent Form, some form of anonymity was written and agreed upon, the

average meetings had between five and twelve participants at any one time, ages ranged from 18 to Elders; usually, women composed the majority at the meetings. Some of the participants were raised in a rural village, while some were raised in an urban setting. The diversity of the group who attended the meetings allowed various perspectives for each value, which provided richer data.

Our Iñupiaq way of analyzing what we know about the world relies on relationships through storytelling and experiences (Gray 2007; Kakaruk & Oquilluk, 1964; Northwest Alaska Elders, 1989, 1990, & 1992). After the completion of a chapter for each *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*, the written draft was distributed to the participants to verify everything was accurate and reflected the individual and group's inner views of each Iñupiaq value. Now I will share the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* our Elders have identified for which every Iñupiaq is responsible to all other Iñupiat for our cultural survival.

Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Observed During Katimarugut

We live our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* in everyday life situations. It is culturally responsive to examine how we connect our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* in our Iñupiaq methodology. It is also a new way of conducting research and highlights the strengths of a culture and heritage. For example, this method of meeting influences how our ancestors held meetings and lived our cultural values. Listed below is our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*. On the right, I describe my view of how each Iñupiaq value is observed while we are meeting. An elaboration of how each value is observed is thoroughly examined and shared throughout chapter five of my dissertation by the research participants.

Table 2: *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* Observed During *Katimarugut*

Iñupiat Ilitqusiat	How the Value is Observed During *Katimarugut*
Iḷisimaliq Uqapialiġmik: Knowledge of Language	Participants have an understanding of the Iñupiaq language at various levels. Some are fluent speakers, while some are just beginning to learn. We speak our language in everyday situations, including using our heritage language during *Katimarugut*.
Iḷisimaliq Iḷagiiḷiġmik: Knowledge of Family Tree	There are participants who are related. They may be able to draw on shared family experiences and family knowledge during *Katimarugut*.
Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun: Sharing	When we share stories and experiences with each other during *Katimarugut*, we learn from each other. We do not have the same experiences and views for each Iñupiaq value. We may remember an experience once someone shares a story.
Atchiksualiq: Humility	No one Iñupiaq person knows everything about our Iñupiaq heritage. No one puts or see themselves higher than others, during *Katimarugut* or anytime.
Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik: Respect for Elders	We need to listen and learn from our Elders during *Katimarugut* when they have information they want to share.
Kamakkutiliq: Respect for Others	We have non-Iñupiaq members in our community, including parents or foster-parents with Iñupiat children. They are included in *Katimarugut* so they can learn more about the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*.
Savaqatigiiyuliq: Cooperation	We need to cooperate with each other during *Katimarugut*, making it a group effort to learn from each other.

Table 2 continued

Savvaqtuɬiq: Hard Work	We acknowledge that *Katimarugut* is not an easy task. Scheduling meetings to share our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* is challenging due to our various responsibilities, but we do make time.
Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik: Love for Children	We are having the *Katimarugut*, because we want to pass our Iñupiaq values to our future cultural bearers.
Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq: Avoid Conflict	During *Katimarugut*, we do not fight against each other. We try to work together with respect to better understand our cultural heritage.
Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich: Family Roles	Our Iñupiaq cultural protocols have older family members share first during *Katimarugut*.
Kaŋiqsimauraaɬiq Irrutchikun: Spirituality	A lot of what we do involves spirituality. During *Katimarugut*, we need to remember the knowledge from our ancestors. The spirits from the eco-animus[7] is a part of our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*.
Quvianniuɬikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq: Humor	We make *Katimarugut* enjoyable with our humor, and we do not make learning about our Iñupiaq values too serious. Humorous stories may be more memorable when recalling experiences.
Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik: Respect for Nature	During *Katimarugut*, we remember where we come from. A lot of what we have learned about our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* is through our observations from nature, and we acknowledge we are still a part of nature, not apart from nature.

[7] I define eco-animus in my Master's project and in Chapter 5 when talking about *Kaŋiqsimauraaɬiq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality)

Table 2 continued

Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñiaŀiq: Domestic Skills	When a task needs to get done during *Katimarugut*, everyone pitches in.
Aŋunialguŀiq: Hunter Success	While we have *Katimarugut*, we usually share our food from subsistence activities. This is our way of celebrating Hunter Success.
Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiŀiq: Responsibility to Tribe	Our *Katimarugut* is not only for the Pavva Iñupiaq Dancers, but also for other Iñupiat, other Indigenous groups, and other people wanting to better understand our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*.

In Aotearoa (New Zealand), Cram and Phillips (2012) have taken seven Māori cultural values and applied them to their researcher guidelines. We each developed our methodologies and frameworks separately and similarly. One brief example of the similarity I found with Cram and Phillips to my work is one of the cultural values listed as *Aroha kit e tangata*, and the research guideline accompanying it states, "A respect for people-allow people to define their own space and meet on their own terms" (pp. 40-41). *Kamakkutiŀiq* (Respect for Others) also allows people to express themselves in their own way, and during *Katimarugut* from parents who have Iñupiaq children in their households, we respected their way of defining their space.

With multiple participants, multiple perspectives offer multiple stories (Wilson, 2008). In the past, cultural anthropology publications were mostly representations from one Western researcher's point of view. With my Iñupiaq methodology and method, I encourage multiple perspectives from many individuals in order to gain a better understanding of my research and our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat.*

My research was conducted in alignment with Indigenous guidelines and protocols including the "Guidelines for Respecting Cultural Knowledge," "Coolangatta Statement on Indigenous Rights in Education," and the "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of

Indigenous Peoples" (ANKN, 2000; UN, 2007; World Indigenous Peoples' Conference: Education, 1993). In the "Guidelines for Respecting Cultural Knowledge," there is a list of actions for cultural responsiveness for researchers. They include, "(a) Effectively identify and utilize the expertise in participating communities to enhance the quality of data gathering as well as the data itself, and use caution in applying external frames of reference in its analysis and interpretation (p. 15)." *Participants are Iñupiat who are actively involved with cultural activities.* "(b) Insure controlled access for sensitive cultural information that has not been explicitly authorized for general distribution, as determined by members of the local community (p. 15)." *Participants are actively involved with the planning of this project. No sensitive information is shared during meetings, and all recordings and transcripts are kept in a locked office at the university.* "(c) Submit research plans as well as results for review by a locally-knowledgeable group and abide by its recommendations to the maximum extent possible (p. 15)." *Participants had access to drafts and results to review before any publishing.* "(d) Provide full disclosure of funding sources, sponsors, institutional affiliations and reviewers (p. 15)." *Participants are well informed of all sponsorships.* "(e) Include explicit recognition of all research contributors in the final report (p. 16)." *Participants are recognized for their contributions.* "(f) Abide by the research principles and guidelines established by the Alaska Federation of Natives and other state, national and international organizations representing indigenous peoples (p. 16)." These principles and guidelines also include the "Coolangatta Statement on Indigenous Rights in Education" and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. These documents, written and developed by Indigenous people, provide guidelines for conducting research ethically and respectfully; and to do so *with*, *by*, and *for* Indigenous people.

Katimarugut (We Are Meeting) Observations

Looking at our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* individually may seem like a compartmentalized approach or even unlike many other Indigenous methodologies, but in our meetings we recognize the interrelatedness and interconnectedness our values have with each other. Participants and I noticed how Humor relates to Sharing, Respect for Others, Respect for Elders, Love for Children, and so forth, when we were looking at our transcriptions, talking about our cultural values, and recognizing the connected relationships. Our Elders have identified we are

responsible for passing them down to our children. Schaeffer, an Iñupiaq leader from Kotzebue, states:

> Inupiaq [sic] Ilitqusiat draws up a nearly definitive agenda for the forthcoming trial of Inupiaq identity, for it is clear that a form of civilization is in suspense about its own survival and even its right to survive. Somehow that survival depends on our ability to restore our traditional values and take on our responsibilities to ourselves and to others. (Schaeffer & Christensen, 2010, p. 71-72)

It is important to continue talking, living, and sharing our Iñupiaq values. With our *Katimarugut*, our discussions help us explore and understand who we are.

Dr. William Hensley (2009), an Iñupiaq leader, writes:

> To me, the beauty of what became known as Iñupiat Iḷitqusiat [sic] -Iñupiat Values-was the fact that they were not material. They were deeply entrenched in the mind and heart and spirit, and entirely transportable. You can be anywhere in the world and retain your Iñupiaq identity and values. (p. 220)

We are Iñupiat wherever we live. If we consciously remember our Elders' guidance about our values, we will survive.

In order to better understand our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*, we need to document our stories, experiences, and legends, listening to the views of each Iñupiaq value. The participants involved are contemporary Iñupiat people. However, we are using a methodology our ancestors used to address their concerns. Each person shared a perspective or inner view of an Iñupiaq cultural value. These combined experiences provide an understanding of a whole story put forth by *Katimarugut*.

I appreciate the scholarly work from my Indigenous predecessors, like Angayuqaq Oscar Kawagley, Margaret Kovach, and my graduate committee, as well as other Indigenous scholars. Through their work, I realize I have multiple audiences my dissertation must address. Kovach (2009) shares:

> For Indigenous researchers, there are often three audiences with whom we engage for transferring the knowledge of our research: (a) findings from Indigenous research must makes sense to the general Indigenous community, (b) schema for arriving at our findings

must be clearly articulated to the non-Indigenous academy, and (c) both the means for arriving at the findings and the findings themselves must resonate with other Indigenous researchers who are in the best position to evaluate our research. (pp. 133-134)

When I write about the answers to the questions from our *Katimarugut*, I must keep these three audiences in the forefront of my mind. My first audience is the Iñupiat people, so I promise to explain academic jargon and terms in my findings. I hope to articulate an Iñupiaq way of knowing and knowledge to non-Iñupiat.

I hope my Iñupiaq methodology helps other Indigenous researchers with their ways of conducting research. Kovach (2009) writes:

> An aspect of Indigenous inquiry associated with methods is the use of cultural protocol, which is a set of guidelines for interacting with those holders of knowledge whom a researcher seeks out. Cultural protocol varies depending upon the tribal practices. (p. 127)

I try to use the words "we" and "our" in this Iñupiaq methodology. Since this research is community-driven, the Pavva Iñupiaq Dancers and other Iñupiat encourage a continued conversation on our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* as the research and its findings should be in stewardship with the participants. This philosophy includes the way our *Katimarugut* is connected to how we conduct our research.

One of the strengths about *Katimarugut* is it draws upon an Iñupiaq methodology to document an Iñupiaq way of knowing. To my knowledge, there is nothing written about any Iñupiaq methodology, an apparent gap in Indigenous research. There are books and papers written about Indigenous methodologies, but I was not able to find anything about an Iñupiaq methodology. This may help other Alaska Native researchers to adapt this methodology to the cultural group they are working with. Each cultural group has their own cultural protocols on how they discuss issues, even among the different Iñupiat communities. Other researchers may be able to practice the same methods and methodology for their own research, realizing their results will differ from mine. When conducting research with group interviews, I was able to get much qualitative data through interaction with a group of people elaborating on one Iñupiaq value for that particular moment. If I were to ask the same research questions even with the same

group of people but ten years from now, I can imagine I would get similar but different qualitative data. This speaks to the fluidity of both culture and knowledge as documented by Indigenous researchers (Archibald, 2008; Brayboy et al., 2011; Wilson, 2008). Even with the possibility of varied results, I would consider this methodology a strength, validating the idea each cultural group is unique and defines themselves in their own way.

Just like in the Qayaq story in the beginning of this chapter, magical things happen when we work together. In the next chapter, we look at *Sagviqtuq* (One Explains Oneself) discussing my Iñupiaq framework, looking at the scholars and predecessors in my field, observe their scholarship and journey, and identify the theories surrounding my research.

Chapter 4: *Sagviqtuq* (One Explains Oneself)
An Iñupiaq Framework

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. He was wearing snowshoes when he came to a ridge on the bank near Alaniq and saw it was impossible to climb down the steep slope. He retraced his tracks on the trail he made, then took an easier trail and camped among the spruce trees. (Northwest Alaska Elders, 1991, pp. 26-27)

Like the Qayaq story above, we need to look at our Iñupiaq *unipkaat* (legends) and *uqaaqtuat* (personal stories) to evaluate a path to take, retrace our paths if necessary, and possibly create new paths in order to reach our destination. The rest of the story includes a copper man calling down to Qayaq asking how he got down. Qayaq replies he just went over the ridge. The man follows his tracks without hesitation and perishes. One must not chose just any theoretical framework and assume it is the correct path for her or his research. The path we take is our theoretical framework. I look at the paths of my predecessors, evaluate their paths and learn from their own journey, and have discovered an Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Framework for my research.

Introduction to Sagviqtuq (One Explains Oneself)

I use *Sagviqtuq* (One Explains Oneself), since to my knowledge there is no words for 'theoretical framework' in Iñupiaq. I had to think carefully about my definition and interpretation of 'theoretical framework.' Bogdan and Biklen (2007) write about researchers studying culture and claim, "Their own theoretical and ideological views are powerful, but these perspectives are also shaped by what they learn from their informants" (p. 34). Does a framework come before the research or does a framework come from the research? Regardless of the answer to this question, I must interpret the data and explain it to my audience. We also need to keep in mind who are we writing for, who we are against, and who we are writing with. I will leave that for the

conclusion, but this explains why I have chosen *Sagviqtuq* (One Explains Oneself) for my Iñupiaq Ilitqusiat Framework.

For this study, I draw upon the journeys of my predecessors, learning from their experiences. Secondly, an Iñupiaq Ilitqusiat Framework (IIF) is introduced through the conversations, showing the flowing and converging cultural values interconnecting with each other. Lastly, I take the oral traditions from William Oquilluk and my *atiiŋ* (namesake) Johnny A. Kakaruk about *The Eagle Wolf Dance* to articulate how my research is organized.

As a reminder, my three main research questions are: 1) How do the participants view each *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq Values)? 2) How have our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* been passed down to the participants? 3) How do we pass down our Iñupiaq cultural heritage to our future cultural-bearers? One of the first steps in addressing these research questions is to look at theoretical frameworks.

Theoretical and Analytical Frameworks

I learned the frameworks and methodologies from my predecessors, I looked at the frameworks and methodologies of my ancestors, and I have discovered through the process of writing my dissertation an Iñupiaq Ilitqusiat Framework, which I elaborate on later in this chapter. According to Dunbar (2008), "Cultural studies cannot be contained within a single framework" (p. 160), and indeed there may be several theoretical and analytic frameworks of which fit my project. Dunbar continues, "Cultural studies research is historically self-reflective, critical, interdisciplinary, conversant with high theory, and focused on the global and the local, taking into account historical, political, economic, cultural, and everyday discourses" (p. 160). In order for me to discover my own path and explain how my research forms its own framework, I must look at several theories. For example, Christopher Dunbar, Jr. is using critical race theory (CRT) as a way of validating Indigenous knowledge systems and methodologies. He writes, "What there is to know is inextricably linked to an individual's past, present, and future" (Dunbar, 2008, p. 88). Brayboy (2005) expands on CRT from the work of Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) and Asian Critical Race Theory (AsianCrit) (p. 429). He identifies Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit) with nine tenets. One tenet states, "Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways

of being" (p. 430). Following Brayboy and Dunbar, my research framework recognizes our Iñupiaq *unipkaat* (legends) and *uqaaqtuat* (personal stories) from the individuals' past, present and future to validate and identify our Iñupiaq ontology through our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat.* Our stories and theories intersect with my research with my asking about participants' ways of knowing from their past and present experiences, and their views about the future. O'Leary (2014) writes about grounded theory, "Taken up by researchers who believe it is important to cast aside all preconceived notions and simply let the data tell the story" (p. 315). The theories from grounded theory are generated from the research data. Bogdan and Bilken (2007) state, "It is the framework of culture, whatever the specific definitions, as the principal organization or conceptual tool used to interpret data that characterizes ethnography" (p. 32). Through the process of my research, I examined the Iñupiaq culture and its cultural values as the framework of my study. Margaret Kovach, an Indigenous researcher, writes, "Conceptual frameworks make visible the way we see the world" (Kovach, 2009). My framework has various perceptions of our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* involved in *Katimarugut* ('We Are Meeting', my Iñupiaq methodology explained in Chapter 3). I utilize another perspective from the book *Research is Ceremony* wherein an Indigenous scholar shares with Shawn Wilson:

> This is how I look at an Indigenous cultural system, an Indigenous way of doing things. Say you have a fire, and you have people sitting in a circle around the fire. And you ask any person to describe the fire. While they are describing it, and you are looking at the same fire, it's not the same thing. But that doesn't mean they are wrong. They are at a different vantage point altogether. So we say, if we share this information in the circle, we share this experience, the collective experience; we will get a bigger picture. (Wilson, 2008, p. 112)

While we are discussing each *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*, each person has his or her own view of the Iñupiaq value. There may be some similar experiences, and some people may have some different views. Having these different vantage points shared with each other during *Katimarugut*, helps to provide a collective understanding. The process of *Katimarugut* may be able to help us find out more about this reality.

Pavva was formed to help educate the youth and adults in the Fairbanks area about our Iñupiaq heritage. Even in contemporary times, Iñupiat Elders are concerned about the survival and community well-being of the Iñupiat youth. Reggie Joule states:

> The Inupiat Ilitqusiat program got started in the early 80s because there was a lot of concern that our young people were being exposed to unhealthy lifestyles as a result of poor role-modeling. A lot of our young people were turning to alcohol, drugs and suicide as a way out…Inupiat Ilitqusiat is not a program. It is a way of life which we have defined as ours. What has been defined as 'Inupiaq Values,' [sic] upon closer inspection, are really basic human values. It is what makes us different from other people; not more than someone else and not less than someone else, just different. It is up to us to learn and understand what those differences are and carry them forward. (VNN, 1996)

The Iñupiat Elders were concerned that the Iñupiat people, because of the introduction of foreign cultures, were living a destructive lifestyle (Napoleon, 1996). The Elders listed our Iñupiaq Values, which we have lived for thousands of years, to officially document what every Iñupiaq should know about our cultural heritage. Listening to our Elders by talking about cultural values helps strengthen the resiliency of our community well-being (Lewis, 2009).

Dr. Graham Smith, a Māori scholar from Aotearoa (New Zealand) was the keynote speaker for the first Alaska Native Studies Conference (ANSC) in April 2013 held in Anchorage, Alaska. According to the He Kākano (n.d.) website, "Professor Smith was the foundation chairperson of the Council for Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi: indigenous-university in Whakatāne." He continues to work closely with Alaska Natives and other Indigenous scholars worldwide, providing guidance through the initiatives in Aotearoa (New Zealand). At the ANSC in 2013, he stated Indigenous researchers need to recognize our own Indigenous knowledge for our theoretical frameworks. He continued by saying the frameworks are already present with: (1) Oscar Kawagley's Yupiaq epistemology and tetrahedral model; and (2) through our cultural values. Though I have been in the Indigenous Studies Ph.D. Program at the University of Alaska Fairbanks since Fall 2010 and had my research proposal planned out at the beginning, his keynote speech helps to articulate my Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Framework based on our Iñupiaq Values. Other Indigenous scholars echo Smith's statement.

Dr. Marie Battiste, a Mi'kmaw scholar from Potlotek First Nations, Nova Scotia, was the keynote speaker for the third annual Alaska Native Studies Conference (ANCS) in March 2015 held in Fairbanks, Alaska. She stated that Indigenous and Western scholars needed to recognize that Indigenous methods, methodologies, and theories could be one and the same. So where I may seem to be discussing my Iñupiaq methodology, I am also describing my Iñupiaq theoretical framework.

Angayuqaq Oscar Kawagley (1993) created a tetrahedral model to illustrate a Yupiaq worldview (p. 16). The model includes the Natural Realm, Spiritual Realm, and Human Realm (see Figure 3). Each realm has arrows connecting each other through reciprocity. In the center of the diagram, is *Ellam Yua* (Person of the Universe), Self, Family, Communal, and Mindfulness; all representing Yupiit existing in the all realms. In my master's project, I describe cultural heritage by examining self, family, and community (Topkok, 2010). This closely resembles the center of Angayuqaq's model. In my Iñupiaq Ilitqusiat Framework (IIF), an Iñupiaq person exists in all three of Kawagley's realms – the cultural values flow naturally and freely, converging to throughout the realms to identify who are the Iñupiat.

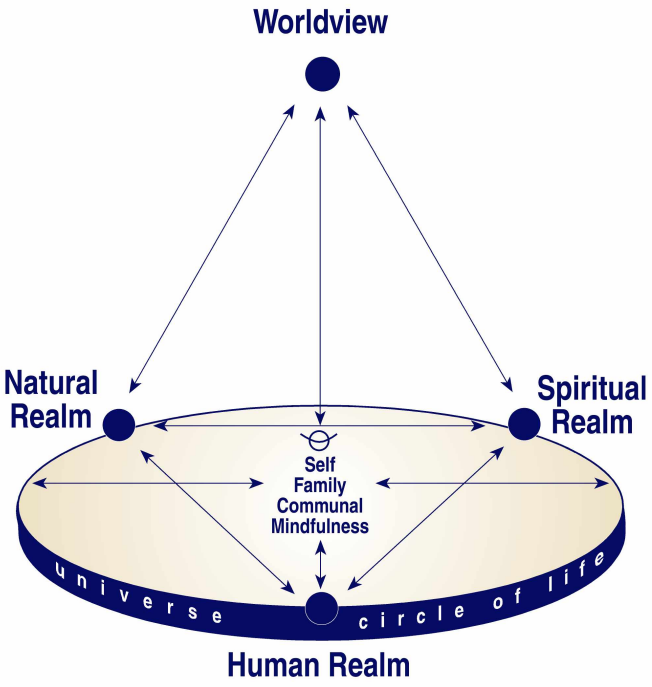

Figure 3: Kawagley's Tetrahedral Model (Kawagley, 1993)

In 2010, the North Slope Borough School District (NSBSD) produced their Iñupiaq Learning Framework (ILF) called "Mapkuqput Iñuuniaġniġmi - Our Blanket of Life" (see Figure 4) (NSBSD, n.d.). Educators and community members of the school district in the Iñupiaq region developed this framework. The framework identifies knowledge and skills need to be taught in their Iñupiaq curriculum, and they put each skill into four realms: Individual Realm, Community Realm, Environmental Realm, and Historical Realm. Like Kawagley's realms, the knowledge and skills (our Iñupiaq epistemology, how do we know) are distributed in the NSBSD realms. For my Iñupiaq Ilitqusiat Framework (IIF), I include the four realms, but I also include a Future Realm to frame my research because I include our descendants in my IIF.

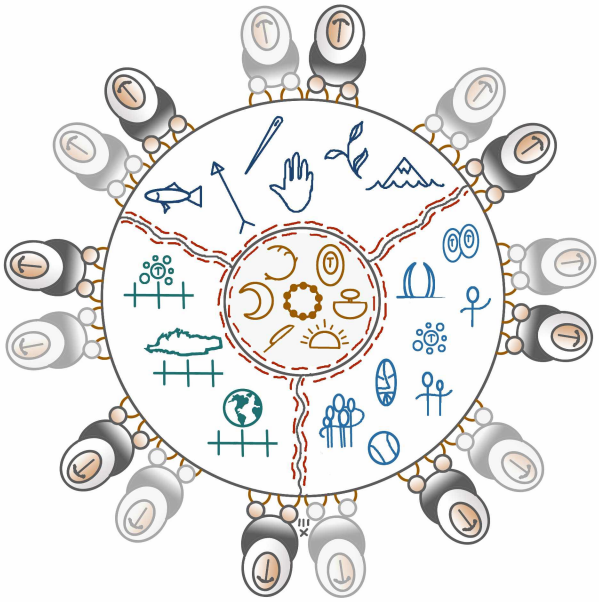

Figure 4: Mapkuqput Iñuuniaġniġmi - Our Blanket of Life (NSBSD, 2010)

In contemporary times, the number of Indigenous scholars researching Indigenous and Western paradigms is increasing, critiquing how Western paradigms tend to be inadequate for Indigenous research in their current forms (Dunbar, 2008; Jacobs, 2008; Kovach, 2009; Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008). I had a personal conversation with Dr. Graham Smith. He said the Māori

people set a goal to graduate 500 Māori PhDs in five years. They have exceeded their goal (Villegas, 2010). Through their initiative, other Indigenous communities worldwide are inspired to grow their own Indigenous scholars. The concept and process of "growing Indigenous scholars" coincide with Marie Battiste's statement (2013):

> Indigenous people are also moving beyond critiques to address the healing and wellness of themselves and their communities, to reshape their contexts and effect their situations, and to create reforms based on a complex arrangement of conscientization, resistance, and transformative action. (p. 69)

This theoretical framework connects the Indigenous researcher to existing generational knowledge and nurtures Indigenous scholars to identify their Indigenous knowledge as a valid source.

There is an increase of documenting Indigenous methodologies, incorporating Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies, and Indigenous theoretical frameworks (Dunbar, 2008; Jacobs, 2008; Kovach, 2009; Meyer, 2001; Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008). More papers and books are being written about Indigenous methodologies and cultural values by Indigenous scholars to become available for the upcoming Indigenous students. An Indigenous scholar, Marie Battiste (2002), writes:

> As a concept, Indigenous knowledge benchmarks the limitations of Eurocentric theory – its methodology, evidence, and conclusions – reconceptualizes the resilience and self-reliance of Indigenous peoples, and underscores the importance of their own philosophies, heritages, and educational processes. (p. 5)

Indigenous theoretical frameworks are important because it offers an Indigenous perspective on research for academia. Our research with our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* resonates locally, nationally, and internationally for more Indigenous scholarly resources and will contribute to this growing literature.

An Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Framework

The Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Framework (IIF) encompasses the theories of ontology and epistemology discovered by my participants and from my predecessors. Kawagley validated Native ways of knowing, and being an Indigenous researcher I continue his legacy by using a

Native way of conducting and analyzing research through IIF. When we had group discussions about each *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*, the participants and I observed how other cultural values would come up during interviews even though the topic was a specific value. For example, when we were talking about *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles), someone would mention and talk about *Savaqatigiiyuɬiq* (Cooperation). This is important to point out because it demonstrates how fluid and natural an Iñupiaq way of researching can be and that it can be holistic, not compartmentalized, because we began with an initial cultural value and identified relationships with other cultural values. Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) state, "While western science and education tend to emphasize compartmentalized knowledge which is often decontextualized and taught in the detached setting of a classroom or laboratory, Native people have traditionally acquired their knowledge through direct experience in the natural environment" (p. 5). My Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Framework (IIF) creates a theory of a natural and holistic way of thinking, creating a balanced Iñupiaq through the interactions of the cultural values. I have created an animated Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Framework (IIF) illustrating an Iñupiaq theoretical framework and knowledge through direct experiences (see Figure 5). Like the design in Figure 2 in Chapter 2, the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* surrounds each Iñupiaq person, and we are responsible for passing these cultural values to other Iñupiat. In my animation, each value is floating naturally, flowing freely yet still connected to us, making this a unique contribution from an Iñupiaq perspective. While floating, there are times when other Iñupiaq values naturally converge with each other, demonstrating how each value is interconnected with each other, transmitted with the generations through the *iñuk* (individual), *iḷat* (family), and *nunaaqqiq* (community) despite colonization (Brayboy, 2005; Dunbar, 2008; Smith, 1999, Wilson, 2008). This IIF framework emerged during my Master's research and was further developed with my doctoral work with the help from my participants.

To view the animation of the Iñupiaq values floating and randomly interconnecting with other cultural values, go to: http://ankn.uaf.edu/ANCR/Inupiaq/IlitqusiatFramework.m4v. This Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Framework (IIF) shows an Indigenous theoretical framework as being a process rather than an object. Through this IIF process, participants reflect on their own identity through the Individual Realm, Community Realm, Environmental Realm, and Historical Realm, from the NSBSD framework. For the IIF, I recognize the NSBSD and Kawagley's Realms, and I have identified another realm focusing on the future generations. Participants bridged this process into a Future Realm, acknowledging the need to teach the children.

The Eagle Wolf Dance Model

As I have mentioned previously, William Oquilluk and my *atiiŋ* (namesake) Johnny A. Kakaruk wrote about T*he Eagle Wolf Dance* in 1964. In Kakaruk and Oquilluk's version (1964), Tuulik kills a Giant Eagle. The giant eagle's mother mourns for her son and tells Tuulik he will be visited by spirit people to teach him how to dance in order to pay respect to the fallen Eagle. As Tuulik continued to return to his village, spirit people visited him, taught him several dances, and did not allow him to continue his journey until he learned all of the dances and the ceremony (the Messenger Feast) properly. Once he learned the dances and ceremony, he returned to his village, told his people about the ceremony, and taught them the dances as he was taught. When the villagers learned all of the dances correctly, Tuulik sent out some of the villagers to go to the neighboring villages to teach how to perform the Messenger Feast properly and all of the dances. Tuulik and the villagers prepared meals and prepared for the neighboring villagers to return at a specified time to begin the days of celebration, the specific order of the dances, and included meals and other ways of the gathering. Once everything was done properly, the Mother Eagle and the spirit of the fallen Eagle knew the villages respected Nature and were at peace.

I use this *unipkaaq* (old Iñupiaq legend) as a model for my research. The spirit people shared with Tuulik the ceremony and dances, an *iñuk* (a person). Then Tuulik shared with his villagers, including his *iḷat* (family). Then the villagers shared with neighboring villages, the *nunaaqqiq* (village). So I have divided our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* into the same three parts, identifying of the 17 Iñupiaq cultural values where each one begins. For example, *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality) begins with an individual, for only the individual can define what is her or his *ilitqusiq* (spirit). Another example, *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋnich* (Family Roles) is centered around the *iḷat.* Also, *Iñuuniaquatiuni Ikayuutiliq* (Responsibility to Tribe) involves the whole *nunaaqqiq.* Hence I have modeled an *unipkaaq* to share my research.

Sagviqtuq (One Explains Oneself) Observations

Stories are an important tool for collecting data and an important source of data within an Indigenous research analytical framework (Archibald, 2008; John, 2009; Kawagley, 1993; Leonard, 2007; Lewis, 2009; Wilson, 2008). Our cultural values and Indigenous knowledge are

embedded in our *unipkaat* (legends and old stories). Our Iñupiaq ontology (what we know) and epistemology (how we know) is best shared through our *uqaaqtuat* (personal stories and experiences).

Multiple participants offer a broad view on knowledge (Counceller, 2010; John, 2009; Lewis, 2009; Wilson, 2008). Even though knowledge from an individual perspective is important, collecting multiple stories provides a holistic knowledge base. With group settings, participants are reminded of *uqaaqtuat* (personal stories) when others talk about their experiences.

In the next chapter, we begin our epic journey with *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat: Inner Views of Our Iñupiaq Values* by visiting the *Iñuk* (Person), the *Iḷat* (Family), and the *Nunaaqqiq* (Village). For each chapter, I begin by listing the Iñupiaq Value most closely associated with each section. I also included a Qayaq study closely related to each Iñupiaq values. Then I start sharing the inner views of each cultural value by the participants. I explain why I have chosen each excerpt and explain how the Iñupiaq cultural values converge with one or more cultural values, my Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Framework. Wilson (2008) states, "Stories allow listeners to draw their own conclusions and to gain life lessons from a more personal perspective" (p. 17). The stories shared by the participants in my research had a lot to share, so some of the excerpts are quite lenghty while others are short. Regardless, it should be made explicit that as a reader, you have the opportunity to draw your own conclusions and relate the stories to yourselves. Archibald reinforces the idea how stories can be a learning tool for individuals through the listeners or readers interpreting the stories for themselves, rather than explaining the story to the listeners or readers. As Archibald (2008) explains, "My experiential story is told to exemplify the cultural values and to introduce some issues related to story memory, letting Elders guide a learning process, learning patience, and appreciating silence. The power of a story is shown about a story" (p. 85). Each indiviual will have their own interpretation of the following stories in my research, providing the listener and read to connect and reflect on its meaning to the individual.

Chapter 5: *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Kaŋŋituŋa* (My Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Research) - *Iñuk* (Person)

List of Values

Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun (Spirituality)
Atchiksualiq (Humility)
Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq (Avoid Conflict)
Iḷisimaliq Uqapialiġmik (Knowledge of Language)
Savvaqtuliq (Hard Work)
Quvianniulikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq (Humor)

For the purposes of this dissertation, I have chosen to distribute the 17 *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* into the three parts of our cultural heritage: *Iñuk* (Person), *Iḷat* (Family), and *Nunaaqqiq* (Village). The Iñupiaq word for "person" is *iñuk*. I have chosen the above six values, because they are responsibilities that begin with the individual. *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality) begins and varies with each person. *Atchiksualiq* (Humility) is something we learn and experience as individuals. *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* (Avoid Conflict) is something all individuals continually work on as they grow older. Individuals are responsible for learning and speaking our language, so we see *Iḷisimaliq Uqapialiġmik* (Knowledge of Language) starting with the *iñuk*. All individuals are encouraged to work hard to contribute their part in the family and community, so *Savvaqtuliq* (Hard Work) starts with the person. *Quvianniulikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq* (Humor) is different for each person. These values can also be included in *Iḷat* (Family) and *Nunaaqqiq* (Village).

The values could also be included in *Iñuk* (Person), *Iḷat* (Family), and *Nunaaqqiq* (Village). A Tlingit man shared with me a wonderful analogy about maintaining one's cultural heritage. He said a cultural heritage is like a forest. You have one single tree, yourself, which needs to be healthy and strong. The surrounding trees are your family members. The whole forest is your community. Each tree needs each other to survive (Topkok, 2010). This relates to

my dissertation with the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* distributed into only one of these categories: individual, a family, and a community – all of which defines who we are and our cultural heritage. This is not an easy decision to make, since we do not compartmentalize our values, and we do live all of our values as individuals, families, and communities. For an academic publication, having 17 chapters for each Iñupiaq value is not a prudent choice. Therefore, I have chosen these three categories. The *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* are listed in no particular order, since there is not a hierarchy associated with the values.

We talked about *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* during *Katimarugut*. Some meetings went over an hour, while some were comparatively short. Hence, some values have more sharing by the participants than others. I do not want to take knowledge out of context, so some interview quotes include quite a bit of relevant information and can be lengthy. The participants have previewed the content in this section, as well as all the other sections, and were allowed to delete or add any additional knowledge. There is still more to talk about for each value, and we encourage communities to talk about their own views.

We begin to look at the *iñuk* by sharing our views about *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality), how *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* was passed down to us, and how we pass *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* down to our children. I would to like remind that each indiviual will have their own interpretation of the following stories in my research, allowing the reader to connect and reflect on its meaning of the individuals.

Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun (Spirituality)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. In times of peril, Qayaq ate the *akutuq* (Eskimo ice cream) his mother gave him, sung the song his father taught him while holding onto his powerful pebble, and prayed to *Siḷam Inua* (the Owner of the Universe). While traveling with his uncle, they came upon clashing cliffs with evidence of travelers' demise. If he had not practiced the ways from his parents, they would have perished. (Brown, 1981, pp. 49-50; Northwest Alaska Elders, 1991, pp. 130-133)

In the Qayaq story, he practices what was taught to him from his parents. He gains magical powers as he travels, learning from his experiences, and calls upon Nature for help. The Iñupiat prayed to *Siḷam Inua* long before Western contact (NSBSD, 2005), but it is important to acknowledge the difference between spirituality and religion. One participant shared:

> **Umialik**: A lot of people confuse religion-ness with spirituality. You can be real religious, but not be spiritual. Spirituality is like believing in a Creator, that there is a Spirit…Being able to find that within yourself, find peace in yourself…Believing that we exist for a reason. (Topkok, 2010, p. 78)

Spirituality is a process an individual experiences to come to terms with the *iñuk* (person). Religion is a concept with a group of people who share aspects of the same spirituality.

Uqaaqtuaŋich Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun (Personal Stories of Spirituality)

Atqich (Iñupiaq names) are given to babies at birth. A child is usually named after a recently deceased relative, and in some cases the deceased namesake is not a blood relative. An Elder would know a child's genealogy just by his or her Iñupiaq name. The child is believed to take on the characteristics of the *atiiŋ* (namesake), though the Iñupiat do not necessarily believe in reincarnation (Craig, 2011). With our Iñupiaq naming practice, we acknowledge the connection between *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality) and *Iḷisimaliq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Family Tree). Through our *atiiŋ*, our *ilitqusiq* (spirit) continues through the generations. For example in Chapter 2, I mentioned that for my *atiiŋ*, I was named after Johnny Kakaruk. He was a dance group leader, and I am a dance group leader. The *ilitqusiq* continues through the generations.

Participants at the one of the meetings looked at the word "spirituality" to help define the word. The word has a different meaning for each individual. Hall (1975) writes about the *Naupaktomiut* (People of the Lower Noatak), "The Naupaktomiut were pinned both physically and spiritually to the land and its resources" (p. 26). The Iñupiat recognizes the spirit in all things including Nature. People are connected to where their ancestors come from through this

spirituality even if they are hundreds miles away. To analyze this data, one of the older participants shared:

> **Kaman**: Spirituality starts with the word spirit, and that's – I have felt a spirit in this world that you can't see with your eyes. I've gone to visit my parents out in the village, and I felt like this is where my spirit came from, and this is where my spirit feels at home. And I can feel something there that you can't touch with your hands or see with your eyes. And it's not just the people who live there, the animals, the plants. Everything there has this spirit that we're all connected to. I think spirituality is feeling the connection with, not just other people, but everything in this world. (Topkok, 2010, p. 78)

This conversation was part of my master's project. I wanted to revisit the discussions in the project to examine what was said about each Iñupiaq value and how it relates to other values. We can see that *Kaŋiqsimauraaḷiq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality) is connected with *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature). This quote also re-emphasizes the portability of values and heritage that Hensley (2009) conveys.

Kaŋiqsimauraaḷiq Irrutchikun (Spirituality) and *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature) are also interrelated through the way we take care of the animals around us. An Elder participant shared:

> **Itqiliuraq**: I think, I just looked at this here in Anaktuvuk and it reminded me, there's a lot of traditions in how you respect the animal after it's given itself to you, and they're not all the same. The people at Kaktovik and over on the western Canadian are different than the Iñupiat out of Barrow and inland. Like the Anaktuvuk people, the caribou is their lifeline. They always remove the head of the caribou before they skin it, before they start butchering it. In their belief, that way they release the spirit of that caribou so that caribou could go to another caribou. More out of my area, from Barrow-*Utqiaġvik*, we felt that the snowy owl was a spirit carrier; and that if you shot and respected the caribou that had given itself to you, the snowy owl, the *ukpik*, would take the caribou spirit back to the spirit world and it would enter another caribou and come and honor you again. So being taught as a child to respect the animal, it was a gift. You earned it by honoring the animal, taking care of it correctly, sharing it, leaving nothing to waste. You basically

> became known as a good hunter, and that you've done everything right, you've respected the animal right. That's why you're a good hunter, not because you went out and learned how to shoot or had a better rifle or something like that. You really built your reputation on the fact that the animals were giving themselves to you and you were successful. (Personal communication, May 2013)

In my Master's project, I identified the term 'eco-animus' inspired by Oscar Kawagley's use of term 'ecosophy', the study of the ecosystem. Eco-animus includes the spirits of animals, plants, humans, air, earth, and so on who live in the Spirit Realm. In the eco-animus, the animal-spirits are always watching us, observing us, and making sure that we continue to show respect for all things. Elder Edna Hunnicutt shares, "Animals have souls. If people don't cut it in the throat the animal won't go away. Anything they catch they have to cut the throat" (Hall, 1975, p. 65). The way that we treat all things is directly connected to *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality) and *Aŋunialguliq* (Hunter Success).

Atchiksualiq (Humility) is connected with *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality). One participant talked about how our spirituality reminds us to be humble, recognizing that all things are connected:

> **Itqiliuraq**: Yes, right. I think that's why our early teaching that we kind of gotten away from across the board, and that is that all of God's Earth is interrelated: people, animals, the Sun and the Moon, the sky, the ocean, the Earth - all of it. And it goes with your puzzle. No one part of it is the whole picture, if it isn't together. In the whole globe, that was taught. It's a way of teaching humility. You're not greater than the seal. You are not greater than the wind that blows and all that goes with it. (Personal communication, September 2012)

Like the Yupiit, we are all pieces in a big puzzle, in the Natural Realm, Spiritual Realm, and Human Realm (Kawagley, 1993). Though we humans are a small piece in the puzzle, each piece plays important interconnections in all the realms. In my master's project, I analyze the spiritual connection we have through the eco-animus:

> Through oral history from my family members, I was told that everything has a spirit. The plants, animals, water, rocks, etc. everything in the ecosystem has a spirit. This is

> what I call the eco-animus. The eco-animus is the spirits that help us, and we are connected to the eco-animus through our own *ilitqusiq*, or spirit. If the eco-animus is treated with respect, including hunting and gathering practices, then the respect is reciprocated. (Topkok, 2010, p. 74)

Kaŋiqsimauraaḷiq Irrutchikun (Spirituality) is connected to *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles) through the education that is passed down by family members. One participant said that spirituality is, "who you are…what you learn from your family and culture." She added that spirituality is, "learning everyday…knowing that you never stop learning" (Topkok, 2010, p. 78). This statement exemplifies how *Kaŋiqsimauraaḷiq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality) begins with the *iñuk* which defines "who you are." Certain family members have specific roles in regards to teaching other family members (see *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* in Chapter 5). According to this conversation, what one learns through *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles) helps shape one's own spirituality.

In another discussion, the interconnection between *Kaŋiqsimauraaḷiq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality) and *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles) continues. As I have mentioned in Chapter 1, many of our traditions are not being passed down. For example, the Iñupiaq word for 'it is taboo' is *agiliġnaqtuq*, and many of our Iñupiaq taboos were not passed down to my generation. One participant shared:

> **Kaman**: When Mom and Dad were old, they talked a little bit about how things were when they were young. Mom said that girls weren't allowed to even touch some of the hunting implements, because of the superstition about the animal spirits. And boys weren't allowed to do certain things inside the house. I don't remember specifically. They weren't allowed to touch certain things like cooking utensils and things that women did. The boy children weren't allowed to even touch those things. The things that men did, the girl children weren't allowed to even touch those things. And that has changed a lot. (Personal communication, January 2013)

In the mindset of a non-Iñupiaq, this can be construed as superstition or invalid knowledge. In this conversation, *Kaŋiqsimauraaḷiq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality) is closely related to *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles) where the roles of the family members affect the

spiritual practices. Our Elders encourage us to, "Cultivate in your students the attitude and knowledge that beliefs, whether old or new, are sacred to people" (Gray et. al., 1981, p. 4). There are many *agiliġnaqtut* (plural) that have changed through the years and still need to be taught to our children. For example, if a young girl eats the tailbone of a ptarmigan, her future son will have difficulty keeping stable on a kayak. This *agiliġnaqtuq* (it is taboo) is not commonly known to contemporary Iñupiaq youth.

Our *ilitqusiq* (spirit) defines who we are. Reggie Joule explains his view of our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*, "Inupiat means 'the Real People,' and Ilitqusiat means, 'Those things that make us who we are'" (VNN, 1996). The participants' views and discussions about *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality) reflect those beliefs and practices that make us who we are as an *iñuk* (person).

In the next section, we share our views about *Atchiksualiq* (Humility), how *Atchiksualiq* was passed down to us, and how we pass *Atchiksualiq* down to our children.

Atchiksualiq (Humility)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. At one point in his travels Qayaq lived with a hawk owl family. Whenever the family would have a meal, they would eat only small bits of a rabbit. So eventually Qayaq became weak and hunted several rabbits to have a meal. While Qayaq was pretending to sleep, his father-in-law asked his wife why Qayaq ate so much and why did she marry him. Qayaq felt uncomfortable and left the family. (Northwest Alaska Elders, 1991, pp. 58-65)

In the Qayaq story, our Iñupiaq hero becomes humble and learns from the family how they live differently from what he is used to living. In this particular story, Qayaq accidently suffocates the grandmother when he discards the offal in the back of the house, as it was an Iñupiaq custom. The father-in-law is concerned about the amount of animals hunted, making sure there are animals for the future. *Atchiksualiq* (Humility) allows each individual to learn from her or his mistakes, to shed any arrogance or hubris, and to lead others with gentleness.

Uqaaqtuaŋich Atchiksuaḷiq (Personal Stories of Humility)

Participants talked about instilling the concept of *Atchiksuaḷiq* (Humility) to the children at an early age by connecting with *Aatchuqtuutiḷiq Avatmun* (Sharing):

> **Ugik**: And we teach our children at a young age to share: share their toys, share their food, share lots of things. We all like to share our stories with each other, and it helps us all grow. I like to share what I have when I can. I share my time with a lot of people.
>
> **Ahnaughuq**: I think it also teaches Humility and being able to be humble, realizing that you're not all about yourself. That when you share, you actually reach out to others and being able to recognize that they have an important part of your life, too. (Personal communication, May 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Aatchuqtuutiḷiq Avatmun* (Sharing) connects with *Atchiksuaḷiq* (Humility) where the act of sharing teaches children not to be greedy. In this case, the lesson is do not be stingy or just think about yourself. Some of our Iñupiaq education attempts to teach children not to be something: do not be *uumiñaq* (annoying), do not disrespect animals, etc. According to Ahnaughuq, sharing with others teaches one to be humble, an attribute of *Atchiksuaḷiq*.

The education of *Atchiksuaḷiq* (Humility) continues throughout one's life. In the following discussion, one can see how *Atchiksuaḷiq* is related to *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders):

> **Itqiliuraq**: As I took that caribou out to the Elders that night again, it was a lesson in humility, because here I'm just a little boy; and I am so proud, and I am so excited. Yet I've been taught that you keep your eyes down. You don't look up. You bring it as an offering to the Elders, and you accept their praise which is just over bubbling. But you accept it with your eyes down, very humbly. (Personal communication, September 2012)

Another participant shared her view on educating children about *Atchiksuaḷiq* (Humility):

> **Ahnaughuq**: Yeah I think with our boys, speaking of boys, there's a lot of lessons we try to impart on them. Part of it is good manners and being able to respect their Elders. And, "You shouldn't talk to somebody like that." Because in a way they still have to be able to

> remember later on in life, they may need help from that person. And so I think in a way, talking about individualism versus community help and being able to do things like that. In the village, you're it. You're it within that community; and if you don't get along with a family, guess what? Later on, you may need that family's help, and you have to be really humble and being able to ask them for help. So I think common respect is a big part of it, responsibility to each other, and being able to remember that and not have anything that will make you forget those things. (Personal communication, September 2012)

Many of our cultural values are taught to us by experience rather than by instruction. The Iñupiat did not just sit down and teach the children our cultural values, and Itqiliuraq shares how he lives our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*. He also shares how *Atchiksuaḷiq* (Humility) relates to *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children), when he approached the Elders and accepted their praise with his eyes down, another attribute of *Atchiksuaḷiq.* Ahnaughuq associates the connection of *Atchiksuaḷiq* (Humility) with *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders) and *Kamakkutiḷiq* (Respect for Others) by imparting that humility includes reciprocity with Elders and other community members.

One point mentioned about being the opposite of humility is being boastful. Participants talked about *Kamakkutiḷiq* (Respect for Others) relating to *Atchiksuaḷiq* (Humility):

> **Ahnaughuq**: My first thought is that it's…when we look at the Western point of view, it's individualism. And with humility, growing up being taught how to be humble, you're also kind of thinking, "What's best for the community?" as opposed to "What's best for myself?" So because in extension, if we help take care of other people in our community, they're going to take care of us later at a time of need. And so, when I think of humility, you are trying not to bring attention to yourself. I can say, "I'm proud about what I can do." There's…other people can do it and recognize you. But to be humble, you're not just going to go do things just so you can be recognized in the community. It's good that you can do good things. (Personal communication, September 2012)

One shows respect toward others by helping out in the community without seeking recognition. In this quotation, practicing humility and modesty steers away from being self-seeking and individualistic.

Another discussion of not being individualistic or boastful shows how *Atchiksualiq* (Humility) relates to *Aŋunialguliq* (Hunter Success) and *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature):

> **Itqiliuraq**: I'll go back to an early lesson Samuel Simmons taught me. I was only about nine. We'd gone caribou hunting and shot some caribou, and I was so proud. I couldn't wait to get home and brag that I'd shot my first caribou. Even though I knew I was going to share the whole thing. My heart was just beating, I was so excited. Samuel put his arm over like this, and he says, "Remember, son, when two men go hunting, we say, 'We…' You never say, 'I…'" 'Cause Samuel could've shot all the caribou, and I could've shot none. And we could've gone home, and Samuel could've walked around and said, "I shot three caribou." Samuel would never say that. He would only say, "We…" as two men that were hunting together. I think that all comes back into our idea that we don't deserve one of God's animals. It's only through the animal's willingness to give itself to us that we harvest it; that we have a caribou to share. We have a whale to share. And it's all part of humility trying to put yourself…instead of putting yourself above the animals. The realization that if it wasn't for God's gift to us as people, we wouldn't have any of that type of relationship. (Personal communication, September 2012)

Samuel taught Itqiliuraq how to hunt, both technically and metaphysically. Technically, he taught him how to shoot with his rifle. Metaphysically, he taught him to have humility when he is out hunting and returning, to show respect toward the animal. Itqiliuraq was taught not to be boastful, one of the identified antonyms of *Atchiksualiq* (Humility).

One participant shared a lesson about arrogance she learned from an Elder and her family:

> **Ugik**: A lesson in humility: I was a teenager, and we were going berry-picking on the Stampede Trail. I was an ornery teenage who didn't want to go. So I didn't pack any extra clothes, and I was wearing my favorite jeans. They got ruined from berry stains,

because I didn't want to go. And of course out of humility, I had to go, respecting my mom, respecting my *Aana*. Had to go. I didn't have to like it, but I had to go. It turns out I really had a good time, and I really enjoyed the whole thing. But I ruined my favorite jeans, because I was being an ornery little teenager. (Personal communication, September 2012)

This discussion exemplifies how *Atchiksualiq* (Humility) is connected with *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles). Elder Helen Aġnatchiaq Seveck shares, "If a person was arrogant, they said, he would have a bleak future. This was especially true if a person did not respect elders or homeless people" (Northwest Alaska Elders, 1990, pp. 40-41). Ugik's *Aana* told her that part of her role in the family meant that she had to pick berries.

Atchiksualiq (Humility) is recognizing that we humans are not the center of the universe. Anthropocentricity is another form of arrogance. We are a part of Nature and should not separate ourselves from it. One participant talked about how we are part of a big picture:

Kaman: I think that part of being humble is realizing that, I'm just a small piece of the puzzle, and it all fits together. And the whole puzzle…if you just look at one small piece, you don't really see anything. You have to look at the whole puzzle to see the big picture. And I'm just one little piece of this puzzle. Each piece is important, but you have to look at the whole picture and not just each individual piece. (Personal communication, September 2012)

This discussion demonstrates a holistic way of looking at the world. Kaman also mentions that each piece is important, substantiating how *Atchiksualiq* (Humility) begins with the *iñuk*, yet connects with the *nunaaqqiq* (village) as being part of the whole puzzle. This complements what Itqiliuraq shared earlier in the *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality) section, nobody is greater than Nature.

Throughout *Katimarugut*, participants would share their views on *Atchiksualiq* (Humility), and many times it would trigger memories for other participants in the meeting:

Itqiliuraq: Yeah, I'm just thinking, you just bring back memories. But again, you don't think of them, as a child when you're learning these things, that it's part of humility. But in the old days, when an older Eskimo killed a seal (and I don't know about on the West

> coast), but you'd always see, just after he got his seal, he'd go over and find freshwater ice and chop a couple chips off, put the ice in his mouth and melt it. And then he would kneel there beside that seal and turn the head up and pour that fresh water into the seal's mouth. In the old story that comes with it, it's the reason the seal gave itself to you, because he lived in salt water and he was always looking for fresh water. And he gave himself to you. And out of your respect, out of your humility, you melted fresh water and you poured in the seal's mouth. That's a lesson in humility when you stop to think of what you've just been taught. The Inland, the Nunamiut, they would put a branch in a dall sheep's mouth. They would go break off a very special branch with leaves and go put it in a dall sheep's mouth after they killed it, before they started skinning it. I think those are lessons in humility. (Personal communication, September 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Atchiksualiq* (Humility) is connected with *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality). Itqiliuraq shares spiritual practices related to hunting that are passed down from our ancestors.

Eric Gooden, a 9th grade student in Kiana, states, "In the past, humility played an important role in the Inupiaq [sic] culture. People who put themselves above others were not working for the good of all" (VNN, 1996). The participants shared their *uqaaqtuat* (personal stories) how they learned *Atchiksualiq* (Humility) as individuals for the good of the *nunaaqqiq* (village).

In the next section, we share our views about *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* (Avoid Conflict), how *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* was passed down to us, and how we pass *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* down to our children.

Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq (Avoid Conflict)

> Qayaq was near the head of the Noatak River. He spotted a herd of caribou at the bottom of a nearby mountain. He purposefully left his spear to try to catch up to them, for he had no desire to kill them. As he came near the herd, the caribou ran away from him. Qayaq maintained his pace and direction, trying to approach the herd. After following the caribou over several mountains, he finally found the herd waiting for him at the bottom of

a valley. One of the largest caribou offered to Qayaq to become one with the herd, as a caribou. He spent the springtime with the caribou learning their ways and living with them. The caribou taught him what to eat and how to escape hunters, keeping eyes on the distant horizon. He was successful in escaping until a powerful hunter almost caught him. After the narrow escape, Qayaq became human again. (Oman, 1995, pp. 66-72)

The story of Qayaq at the top of this section is a very abbreviated one from Lela Kiana Oman's book. There are at least three books about Qayaq, who has been compared to Odysseus for his epic adventures. I chose this excerpt for *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* (Avoid Conflict), since the Iñupiaq hero decides to avoid conflict by leaving his spear before attempting to learn from the caribou. The caribou are hesitant to allow him into their community. He does not force himself into the herd, but rather waits until a caribou invites him.

There is an Iñupiaq story about a man named *Yuguġluk* (Northwest Alaska Elders, 1989, pp. 131-157). *Yuguġluk* is a very successful hunter, and he eventually has several wives. The multiple wives were necessary in order to butcher the meat and sew furs for clothing. He sees other villagers do not like that he has so many wives, so he decides to avoid conflict by leaving the village to go explore. *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* (Avoid Conflict) allows us to recognize our role in the family and community, cope with contemporary issues, survive in the world, and put aside differences to help each other.

Uqaaqtuaŋich Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq (Personal Stories of Avoid Conflict)

The Iñupiat people depend on each other to survive our harsh environment. Our ancestors have unwritten traditional laws that they have followed for thousands of years. A participant shared thoughts about unwritten traditional laws:

Itqiliuraq: Our ancestors must have been able to solve conflicts in very unique ways. We just saw an example in Yakutat. They have this long sand spit. And you can see these little cabins every fifty feet. And these are family fishing…where their net goes out. And these have been handed down through the families for generations, in the same spot. And

> at some point, they had to solve that. In Barrow, we have these shooting stations where the ducks fly over. And every family has the same grains of sand underneath their tent every year. You put it exactly where, down through the generations, this is where the Nayokpuk family, this is where [another] family… Every year, you go right out there, and you go right to the right tent. They can change their tent, but you know who's going to be in every tent out there. And that had to been solved generations ago. I'm sure it caused conflict at some time way back, but they figured it out. (Personal communication, August 2012)

In this conversation, we see how *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* (Avoid Conflict) relates to *Savaqatigiiyuḷiq* (Cooperation). The families and villagers have to cooperate with each other in order to resolve any differences. Itqiliuraq shares how there must have been conflict generations ago, and in contemporary times there may still be some conflict. However, our ancestors have resolved these conflicts, establishing family camps which last through the generations.

I grew up with four brothers, and we fought all the time. *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* (Avoid Conflict) is really connected with *Kamakkutiḷiq* (Respect for Others). My mom was born and raised in Teller. She is the Irish and Norwegian part of me. She was teased a lot about being White when she was growing up, and that story stuck with me. When I was growing up, I saw a lot of teasing on both sides. From the non-Native side, teasing me about being Native. From the Native side, teasing me about being White. One of my aunts looked at her friend, and she said in Iñupiaq, "Oh, I thought he was a White guy." She had not seen me for a long time. Then she looked at me and said, "Do you understand?" I just raised my eyebrows [in affirmation]. I replied, "Yes, I do." I am White. I do not deny that. I am actually proud of everything of who I am. One view of *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* (Avoid Conflict) is to not have conflict within yourself about who you are. That is what I learned from my mother. She was teased quite a bit. That is why avoiding that conflict within yourself and to have that inner-peace. That is what I think our Elders really wanted to pass down, why they included that in our Iñupiaq values.

When I listen to our Iñupiat Elders, they tell about welcoming the newcomers during the first Western contact. Our ancestors would first offer food to make visitors feel welcome. If there

were a negative situation that happened in the village, people would be non-confrontational. A participant shared:

> **Ugik**: The first thing I thought of when we started talking about Avoid Conflict was (it's personal, but I don't mind sharing) being married to an alcoholic. I avoided conflict a lot. In an alcoholic's world, I would be called an enabler, because I would avoid conflict by doing, um…doing things to make it easy on him. I would avoid conflict, you know, tiptoeing around. When he was drinking, he would be mean. So avoid conflict by not doing anything that would make him mad and set him off. So I avoided conflict my whole life. Just trying to be nice and make everybody happy all the time. And even still, not being married to an alcoholic at this time, you still avoid conflict in your home life by doing things that won't make the other person mad. And at work, people avoid conflict by just being the "go-to person", trying to make everybody happy all the time. So I avoid conflict even now. You know, not telling people when they really make you mad. Just lots of things in my life I avoid conflict all the time. I don't like fighting. I don't like arguing. So now my husband and I know if we're going to have a fight, that one of us should just leave for a while, or take a walk, or go to a different part of a room. We avoid conflict a lot. (Personal communication, August 2012)

This is example of *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* (Avoid Conflict) connected to *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles) and *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* (Domestic Skills). In this family, Ugik's role was to "make everybody happy." The way the she avoids conflict at home is a skill that she practices in struggling situations. Some non-Iñupiaq may try to 'win a fight' when conflict arises. An anonymous 11th grade student from Kotzebue writes, "People should learn to control themselves and their actions and avoid getting into fights because there are enough problems in this world already" (VNN, 1996). Ugik learned to walk away from conflicts, then return to resolve them in a calm manner.

Along the same lines of being non-confrontational, our Elders teach us to avoid conflict by trying to prevent negative situations from escalating. In some situations, if we refuse to acknowledge someone attempting to cause conflict, it becomes a way to avoid it. A participant shared:

Umialik: Do you remember when Mom would talk about her brother while he was the head of our corporation? And how he would – when other people, in the corporation with him, wanted to talk about their opinion about certain things and wasn't really productive. Didn't she say that he would just…he would just listen? He wouldn't really…he wouldn't encourage them to, you know, to complain more or talk more in ways that would not help the situation. [Sibling nods in agreement] But he kind of led by example. He would not respond to certain conversations. (Personal communication, August 2012)

This is another example of *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* (Avoid Conflict) relating to *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñiaḷiq* (Domestic Skills). Part of the uncle's coping skill that he learned at home was implemented in contemporary times during meetings. Patience is a cultural value for other Indigenous groups including the Iñupiat on the Seward Peninsula and plays a big part of this skill to avoid conflict.

There were times that the villagers could not avoid conflict. One of the sanctions for the one who caused conflict was to banish and ostracize that person. Having this powerful sanction shows all the community members that this behavior is not tolerated, and they may hopefully avoid conflict in the future:

Itqiliuraq: Even when I was young, conflict in the village…all the villages are small. I grew up in Barrow. You got Anaktuvuk, Kaktovik, you know, all these villages. And when somebody started becoming conflicting, to the village usually, they were ostracized. My parents were ministers, and my mom would say, "Son, you can't do that." I says, "Mom, it has worked for thousands of years." I says, "It may not be the Christian way to deal with conflict." But when one side is not willing to look for a way to settle it, you don't acknowledge them anymore. They could walk in a room, nobody says hi – nobody serves them coffee. When you've grown up in a one-room house, something like that can be very conflicting, very fast. And it spreads through the community. Because everybody's uncle, aunt, cousin, brother, sister are in all of our smaller communities. And so, this ostracization, long before my era, used to be a death warrant. If you couldn't be part of the community, if you couldn't be part of the sharing (which is the biggest part of our cultural value system, is in sharing and how we share and why we share), if you're

not part of that, it is like a death warrant, because it was really tough, at least the coastal villages, to survive all by yourself. I'll just speak from how much easier it was once I got married even though I was nomadic and traveled. Having two people doing everything made life a whole lot easier. And I think [Tagalusiaq] and I had to learn really quick when we would spend eight months in a tent. Boy, you better think before you speak in a way. It's what you're saying, go ahead and avoid the conflict. Just don't put yourself in a position. It came to me being taught by the Elders, in a very real way, that being in conflict in your home, being in conflict in your village, was really a death warrant. It was really real to those people, when they talked about sending somebody out on the prairie, and they're not welcome to come back to their village. They're not welcome to come back to their home. There is an Iñupiaq man that I grew up with here in Fairbanks. He can talk to [Tagalusiaq]. He can let us know through [Tagalusiaq] how he's doing. But culturally bound, I can't go talk to him. He's a "no-person." It's tough to be living in two cultures, at the same time are working at odds against each other. I think the hard thing I learned is that it wasn't that someone didn't love this person. That wasn't in the question when it came to conflict. It's just that it was you were going to disrupt the ability to continue living in a small community. (Personal communication, August 2012)

This is a lengthy quote, and I do not want to take anything said out of context. One *iñuk* (person) can quickly learn *Atchiksualiq* (Humility) once he or she is banished from a *nunaaqqiq* (village). In contemporary times, banishing can be very challenging. I can imagine my ancestors, if someone was causing conflict in the village, physically turning their backs to the person to signify ostracization.

Our Iñupiat Elders stress the importance that we have a responsibility to our tribe. We need to help each other in times of need:

Itqiliuraq: And how far are you going to let that conflict interfere with life? We've been nomadic and would camp all over. And sometimes we would be in conflict with another group of people on the slope. But that didn't mean that when they came and said, "We're out of milk and the baby's hungry," that we wouldn't give them every drop of milk we had in the house. We may have conflict in where we were setting our nets or maybe

> where we were setting our tents. But that interfere with taking care of the baby or taking care of other needs that are there. (Personal communication, August 2012)

In this short quote, this Elder talks about *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* (Avoid Conflict) but also includes *Kamakkutiłiq* (Respect for Others) when talking about other groups of people, *Aatchuqtuutiłiq Avatmun* (Sharing) when sharing the last of his milk, *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children) when talking about caring for a baby, and *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiłiq* (Responsibility to Tribe) when doing what is right for the camp.

Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq (Avoid Conflict) is a challenging topic to talk about. For some people, recognizing conflict may bring unexpected negative emotions. I want to have the *Katimarugut* to be as comfortable as possible. There are some people who feel that the wounds of Alaska Natives, due to Western influences, are still in the process of healing. Participants practice different ways of avoiding conflict, whether it was taught to them or they developed it on their own. The quotes given by the participants all reflect the importance of acknowledging conflict as an *iñuk* (person) in order to deal with a situation.

In the next section, we share our views about *Iḷisimałiq Uqapiałiġmik* (Knowledge of Language), how *Iḷisimałiq Uqapiałiġmik* was passed down to us, and how we pass *Iḷisimałiq Uqapiałiġmik* down to our children.

Iḷisimałiq Uqapiałiġmik (Knowledge of Language)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. One of his fathers-in-law was an Umialik who was raised by his grandmother. The grandmother was visited by a little weasel that kept repeating, "*Chee-kei, chee-kei*." The grandmother knew this helping spirit was trying to communicate something to her, but she was not able to understand. Finally she remembered that she was to make offerings to the souls of the ancestors by sprinkling food and water over the room. (Oman, 1995, p. 55)

In the Qayaq story, Nature was trying to communicate with a person. Much of our Iñupiaq language comes from Nature. Many names of animals coming from the sounds the

animals make. For example, the Qawiaraq Iñupiaq word for old squaw duck is "*aa'aaŋiq*" (Agloinga & Harrelson, 2013, p. 63). Our Iñupiaq language is closely tied with our cultural heritage. Chris Tickett from Shungnak writes, "If no one spoke Inupiaq, it would be very sad and our values would be lost and all that we are would be lost" (VNN, 1996). If we were to lose our Iñupiaq language, we would lose a huge part of how we define who we are as Iñupiat.

Uqaaqtuaŋich Iḷisimaliq Uqapialiġmik (Personal Stories of Knowledge of Language)

Our *Iḷisimaliq Uqapialiġmik* (Knowledge of Language) begins with the *iñuk* (person), acquiring our primary language(s) from the world around us right when we are born. Before Western contact, the Iñupiaq language was the primary language spoken in our homes. After colonization, English dominated the children's education in the newly built schools and was encouraged by the teachers to be spoken at home causing cultural and linguistic loss (Counceller, 2010; MacLean, 1988; Okakok, 1989; Ongtooguk, 2010). In many households, parents were no longer speaking Iñupiaq to their children with the exception of a few words, even though it was the parent's first language. One participant witnessed firsthand the process of switching from Iñupiaq to English:

> **Itqiliuraq**: This is Itqiliuraq, and I grew up in Barrow in the early, early '50s when the Bureau of Indian Affairs was forcing the English language on us as the only language we can speak within the school system, or even within the playground. We were severely punished being caught speaking our Native language. But I think what I'd like to talk about just a little bit is how we used our Iñupiaq language when I was a child. So in our school system, we were speaking only English after we got to the second grade. Second grade was the last Iñupiaq-speaking teacher that I ever had, and that's because we had kids from six years old to sixteen years old in second grade at that time. And sometimes he did have to switch to Iñupiaq to talk to some of the older kids that had never heard English before they walked into the school system. And so as kids were speaking English in the school, we would go home and sit down at the dinner table. And you'd have your grandparents, parents, and all your siblings sitting around the table. And us kids pretty

> much talked to each other in English, because that is what we were supposed to be practicing. We would speak to our parents quite often in English, but never would we ever speak to our grandparents in English even if they understood it better than we did. If a grandparent spoke to you in English, you responded in Iñupiaq to them always, unless they spoke and asked you to say it in English. You did not speak to an Elder in English. We were just somehow ingrained that that was how you respected your grandparents. And of course a lot of grandparents didn't understand English at all, but there were many that did. And so if a parent spoke to us in Iñupiaq, we more and often than not answered them in English. And if we spoke to our parents, unless they asked us to translate, we spoke in English. But we all spoke Iñupiaq to our Elders. Most functions in the '50s, that were village functions, were done in Iñupiaq. We didn't translate stuff into English unless there happened to be a schoolteacher or a minister or something like that that we wanted to include in the conversation. Now it's very common in most meetings that we speak both languages, 'cause there's so many of us that don't speak fluent Iñupiaq anymore. (Personal communication, January 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders) is connected with *Iḷisimaliq Uqapialiġmik* (Knowledge of Language). Itqiliuraq always spoke Iñupiaq when addressing an Elder, a sign of respect. Dr. Counceller (2010) writes, "Alutiiq-speaking children learned that speaking their Native language could result in a ruler strike to the hand, a soapy rag in the mouth, or other traumatizing punishments" (p. 18). Many Alaska Native groups were punished in the schools for speaking their ancestral language. Itqiliuraq shared to show respect for Elders while he was growing up, only the Iñupiaq language was spoken when conversing with them. The resiliency of continuing to speak Iñupiaq, though we were punished demonstrates the importance of Indigenous theoretical framework (Dunbar, 2008; Jacobs, 2008; Kovach, 2009; Meyer, 2001; Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008). If we discontinue using our heritage language, we lose part of our culture.

The same speaker later shared his view of *Iḷisimaliq Uqapialiġmik* (Knowledge of Language) while he was growing up in an Alaskan village and then continuing his schooling in an urban setting:

Itqiliuraq: It was pretty traumatic for me leaving. I had to leave Barrow after the sixth grade, because that's the last grade that the BIA school had in my village. And so I had to go to Seattle to continue school. And at that time, I still was…I dreamed in Iñupiaq. I thought a lot, and when I got really embarrassed, my brain would go into Iñupiaq. And I'd have a lot of trouble getting back into English. And I'd sit there in a classroom totally just my mouth closed, 'cause I could not get the words to change. So for a while there I felt like I was dumb, I felt like people were thinking I was dumb. You started to become embarrassed of your own language, and so you don't speak it. But I can tell you when I was a junior in high school, my counselor called me in and said, "[Itqiliuraq], it obvious that you're taking classes for college and you have no foreign language." [LAUGHTER] And just big crocodile tears started rolling down my cheek. Here I'm 15, 16 years old. "I've been fighting this my whole life, that you're telling me I'm a nobody because English is not my main language. And you won't accept the fact that Iñupiaq is a spoken language that I'm very proud of." And went off to college, nobody knew anything, other than I spoke with an accent and was a little bit different, was about the only recognition. And I kept it a secret. I didn't tell anybody. So it was a real big surprise. We went back this year to my alma mater to talk on our Iñupiaq heritage and culture. And it was a pretty big shock to most people that…I wasn't just a Seattleite that had a funny accent. (Personal communication, January 2013)

Iñupiat in Itqiliuraq's generation experienced a great cultural change and shift. Related to Dunbar's (2008) critical race theory and Brayboy's (2005) Tribal Critical Race Theory, Itqiliuraq recognized Iñupiaq as his heritage language, maintained his cultural identity in secret, and demonstrated his resiliency when he returned later in life. Dr. Counceller (2010) writes, "The swift change to English created communication barriers within families, increasing the loss of cultural knowledge, subsistence practices, and self esteem" (p. 19). Iñupiaq children experienced the shame and humiliation whenever they spoke their Native language or practiced their cultural heritage.

During a *Katimarugut* (We Are Meeting), some participants remembered hearing Iñupiaq spoken by their grandparents, because their parents spoke mostly English in many households. One participant reminiced about her visits with her grandmother:

> **Ahnaughuq**: I appreciate the times now, thinking back about the times that I actually got to converse with her. And then I realized I never tried to learn Iñupiaq from her.
>
> **Ugik**: Mm-hm (affirmative).
>
> **Ahnaughuq**: And I would just know a few phrases. And I remember her talking in Iñupiaq with her sister or her cousins or other people that visited or her brother, my Uncle Del. And being able to talk in real Shishmaref dialect [LAUGHING], which has the 'z' sounds. It was very different. And of course my parents at the time didn't try to teach me Iñupiaq, I mean it was only a few phrases and some words, but nothing like being totally immersed in it. So I find that as a struggle for myself to be able to learn Iñupiaq because of this. (Personal communication, October 2012)

There are several dialects in Iñupiaq (MacLean, 1980). Even those who speak one dialect may speak differently than their neighboring village. This is an example of *Iḷisimaḷiq Uqapialiġmik* (Knowledge of Language) related to *Kamakkutiḷiq* (Respect for Others).

There is no one way of speaking Iñupiaq. In 1998 at a statewide conference, I met an Elder, Minnie Aliitchak Qapviatchialuk Gray from Ambler, Alaska. I asked her to teach me how to introduce myself in Iñupiaq. She said that I should say, "*Uvaŋa atiġa*…" and then my Iñupiaq name (Personal communication, 1998). This is how her ancestors have been introducing themselves for generations. Another person teaching his Iñupiaq dialect says that she is wrong. To show my *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders), I acknowledge that there can be more than one way of speaking and will continue to introduce myself the way my Elders have taught me.

We earn *Atchiksuaḷiq* (Humility) when we are learning any language. Ahnaughuq mentions that our sons have to do a lesson of Rosetta Stone® before playing any video games. One time when I was picking up our youngest son from daycare, I asked him in Iñupiaq to pick something up underneath a table. However, I said it incorrectly, and he corrected me. I humbly acknowledged my mistake and was proud of him for being able to teach me. One can start

learning a language with computer applications and other electronics. However, a computer can never replace an Elder or language expert who can correct any nuances in language learning.

I want to end this section about our *Iḷisimaḷiq Uqapiaḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Language) with a gift that was given to me by a very special person:

> **Asiqłuq**: Chief Marie Smith Jones.
>
> **Tagalusiaq**: Mm-hm (affirmative). So lonely.
>
> **Asiqłuq**: She was the last Eyak Native speaker, Native Eyak speaker. I had the privilege of talking with her informally. At AFN[8], she found out what I do working with the Alaska Native Knowledge Network.
>
> **Itqiliuraq**: Mm-hm (affirmative).
>
> **Asiqłuq**: Working all over Alaska with the different Native groups, and worldwide. When she found out what I did, this was back in 2000. She passed away in 2008. So there's no more Eyak speakers. And at the time, she was the last one. And she said, "Oh," after finding out what I do in working with the different Native groups. She said, "Oh good! I'm so glad. There's one message that I would like to tell people. And I'd like for you to share this message with everyone else. What I've learned and what's really important for continuing on a language is, 'Stop the hate and just love.'" Stop thinking about the past. From what I gathered from what she was saying is stop having any animosities, stop feeling sorry for yourself, stop putting blame to people, and just love and start working together so that you can continue your language. And so, you know, I thought that was such a beautiful thing. And so I try to relay that message that she gave to me, to others whenever possible, whenever I travel. So I think that was very sweet of her. I think that was a gift that she gave to me that I'll gladly share with others.
>
> **Itqiliuraq**: That's neat. (Personal communication, January 2013)

In this conversation, we see that it is our *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiłiq* (Responsibility to Tribe) to keep moving forward with our Iñupiaq language and not dwell on the negative past. Yes, we do need acknowledge the atrocities that we had to endure, but we learn from them and continue to survive with love in our hearts.

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[8] Alaska Federation of Natives

Throughout this *Katimarugut* (We Are Meeting), I find it interesting that only one *iñuk* (person) is considered having the Iñupiaq language as one of his first languages, and he shares from that perspective. Many of the other participants shared their views as heritage language learners and not fluent in Iñupiaq. They all acknowledge the importance and connection between culture and language. The participants have expressed a hope that our next generations will be more fluent in the Iñupiaq language than we are today.

In the next section, we share our views about *Savvaqtuliq* (Hard Work), how *Savvaqtuliq* was passed down to us, and how we pass *Savvaqtuliq* down to our children.

Savvaqtuliq (Hard Work)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. He came upon a large village on the Yukon River and married the Umialik's stepdaughter. Qayaq was ordered by the Umialik to kill a giant bird for a village feast, which is how the Umialik killed his stepdaughter's husbands in the past. Qayaq turned himself into an ermine to hold onto the giant bird's leg and bite into an artery to weaken it. He held onto the bird as it raced back and forth on a mountaintop, eventually making the bird tired after days of battling it. He killed the bird so that the Umialik would no longer send men to their deaths. (Oman, 1995, pp. 36-39; Brown, 1981, pp. 68-70)

In the Qayaq story, our Iñupiaq hero was tenacious in fighting with the giant bird. He held on for a long time waiting for the bird to get tired. Through his hard work, he was able to defeat the man-killing bird. This story reminds me that my ancestors had to work hard in order to survive. They held onto their language, traditions, and ways of living. It is up to us to work hard to carry on their legacy. We continue to work hard in contemporary times.

Uqaaqtuaŋich Savvaqtuɬiq (Personal Stories of Hard Work)

One participant grew up in a couple rural Iñupiaq villages. Her family would spend several weeks during the summer visiting with her paternal grandmother and subsisting off the land and water. She talked about how *Savvaqtuɬiq* (Hard Work) relates to *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles):

> **Ahnaughuq**: Yeah, even in Shishmaref, there's little crews when they go out seal hunting. They all kinda it figure out. 'Cause I know my dad's mentioned there's a few people that he'll always ask, because they're younger boys and they can do the labor. And he provides the boat, which is a good size boat. And maybe he provides the gas, but they do the labor and they bring the food or however they work it out, because they know the easier it is for them to work together, then they can make sure that everybody goes home with a seal or a few, and then be able to divide it up. And the same goes for caribou hunting, because it's so much work to put the food away that you need those people to be able to work together and share. Share the work, but then they're going to share what comes later is the rewards. (Personal communication, May 2013)

One of the roles of a hunter is to teach hunting skills to the young men. Ahnaughuq explained that is was a lot of hard work not only to hunt but also to teach the boys how to hunt properly. There is the mechanics of subsisting like mending a net, shooting a gun, dressing and butchering a seal, etc. It is also hard work to teach how to respect an animal, observe and survive the environment, and be successful. Each person has to contribute equally in a group setting, so *Savvaqtuɬiq* (Hard Work) begins with the *iñuk*.

In this lengthy quote, participants shared how to process skins and hides. There are ways our ancestors had prepared skins for clothing. Participants also talked about contemporary methods:

> **Ahnaughuq**: Mm-hm (affirmative). Yeah. There is moose hide that is processed, but there's a special way to tan it. It's not the same way as with…
>
> **Aviŋŋaq**: Deer? It's like deer.
>
> **Ahnaughuq**: Like deerskin, there's a special way to tan that, too.

Ugik: You have to save the brain.

Aviŋŋaq: Why?

Ugik and **Ahnaughuq**: Because that's how you process it.

Asiqłuq: The enzymes in the brain help break down the moose, make it really pliable.

Aviŋŋaq: Oh, I never knew that.

Ahnaughuq: Moose skin. Yeah, the moose skin.

Aviŋŋaq: Huh, interesting.

Itqiliuraq: Brain and lima beans.

Aviŋŋaq: Huh.

Itqiliuraq: Take a caribou hide and you soak it to get rid of the hair. And then you roll it up with a mixture of a little bit of flour, brain, and lima beans. And that'll tan it.

Ugik: Oh.

Ahnaughuq: Wow.

Aviŋŋaq: Wow.

Itqiliuraq: No, instead of lima beans, you use jarred beets and you have a beautiful red hide to work with.

Ahnaughuq: Huh, wow.

Itqiliuraq: But both of them have the acidity in lima beans or beets, the two that I've used is high enough to really…

Ahnaughuq: And it's a lot of work.

Itqiliuraq: Mm-hm (affirmative).

Asiqłuq: And there's sun-bleached moose hide, and then there's smoked hide.

Itqiliuraq: Yeah, the Athabascans preserve theirs with smoking. But if you get down around the Tsimshians and Tlingits, their hides come out snow white. And I have no idea what they do, but they don't smoke them.

Ahnaughuq: Hm. Interesting. It's just like when you get bleached sealskin, when they take the hair off. They leave it out in the sun, and it becomes bleached sealskin.

Itqiliuraq: Yep. (Personal communication, May 2013)

This conversation demonstrates the connection between *Savvaqtuḷiq* (Hard Work) and *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature). During ancestral times, it was essential to properly prepare the fur and hides for winter clothing. The knowledge to naturally preserve and prepare the hides took years to perfect, and we continue to adapt with contemporary methods. The Iñupiat are adaptable, too. Lima beans and beets are not part of our ancestral diet, yet the knowledge of the foods acidity and how it can be applied to tanning demonstrates our adaptability. Though times have changed, we continue to practice our heritage and cultural values.

Participants shared how *Savvaqtuḷiq* was passed down to them as they were growing up. One participant grew up between Fairbanks and North Pole, Alaska. Both of her parents worked, so she and her sister had a lot of chores to do at home:

> **Ugik**: I was a working kid.
>
> **Aviŋŋaq**: Oh my gosh, you did.
>
> **Ugik**: My sister and I didn't get to go out and play on the weekends or in the evenings like other normal kids got to. We had a big yard. We were always working on our house. There was always some kind of job we had to do, before we could go play baseball down at the playground or go ride bikes with our friends. We always had something we had to do, before we were allowed to go play.
>
> **Aviŋŋaq**: And I'd come help sometimes, so that you can get done faster.
>
> **Ugik**: And our neighbors would, too, sometimes. And our parents allowed that.
>
> **Ahnaughuq**: Mm-hm (affirmative).
>
> **Ugik**: But we did have, it wasn't really chores, because they were always something different. It was, "Okay, today you have to pull nails out of a board." "Today you have to paint these shelves." "Today you have to rake the yard." "Today you have to do whatever." There was always a different list of things that we had to do. I mean, I can remember doing dishes and having to stand on a chair to be able to reach the sink. (Personal communication, April 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Savvaqtuḷiq* (Hard Work) is connected with *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñiaḷiq* (Domestic Skills) and *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles). With

their parents away working, both of the sisters had roles to fill in order to help around the house. Dr. John (2009) talks about her grandmother's advice about chores, "She emphasized that if I left the chores undone, I would learn to wait and things would pile up on me. We were encouraged to be prompt when we were asked to do chores" (p. 36). There are many lessons learned from *Savvaqtuŀiq*, for example: being responsibility, being productive, becoming future caretakers, and so forth.

Another participant talked about helping another community member when he was successful in catching a whale:

> **Ahnaughuq**: I think a lot of times though as being a girl, and the times that I grew up in the 70s, I wasn't expected to be out on a hunt. I did help out a lot like the berrypicking and then some animals I was able to cut up, not very much though. I remember one time there was a beluga that Ross Schaeffer had caught in front of…not in front of, but near Kotzebue. And we were not that far. And my dad said, "Come on, let's go. We're gonna go help Ross cut up his beluga." And so, when I got there, it was pretty apparent that they had already started the process. And I recognize that they cut the head off first. So for me to get more experience, I think I was 13 at the time, they said, "[Ahnaughuq], why don't you go ahead and start cutting up the head." I go, "Okay." I didn't know anything. So all they did was just show me a few ways to cut it. And I did it. It was a lot of hard work. That was us being able to help him. And then we got a small share, 'cause it was just too big for him to haul it away and do it all by himself. I don't remember if he had any of his other family members there. I just remember us being able to drive out there, like immediately [LAUGHING] and go help him. (Personal communication, May 2013)

In this short quote, Ahnaughuq shares several Iñupiaq values with this experience. With *Savvaqtuŀiq* (Hard Work), she mentioned that it "was a lot of hard work." Ross Schaeffer caught a whale demonstrating *Aŋunialguŀiq* (Hunter Success). She and her family helped butcher the beluga which is connected with *Savaqatigiiyuŀiq* (Cooperation). She learned how to cut the beluga, giving her *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñiaŀiq* (Domestic Skills). Her family received part of the whale showing *Aatchuqtuutiŀiq Avatmun* (Sharing). This is one example of living our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*.

We are the bridges between our ancestors and future generations. What we do today determines the strength of our cultural heritage our children will have, and their children. Our actions today will either make a strong or weak bridge, depending on our endurance and how hard we work. Through *Savvaqtuliq* (Hard Work) we will survive.

In the next section, we share our views about *Quvianniulikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq* (Humor), how *Quvianniulikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq* was passed down to us, and how we pass *Quvianniulikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq* down to our children.

Quvianniulikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq (Humor)

> Qayaq always set out an extra place whenever he made camp, just in case he had a visitor. Since he was traveling for a long time, he had a hole in his mukluks. A visitor did join Qayaq, and he offered him food. After they finished eating, the visitor kept watching Qayaq's big toe. Qayaq noticed this and teased the visitor by wiggling his toe. The visitor eventually ran up the mountain to escape Qayaq's humor. The visitor was a Dall sheep. If Qayaq had not used humor on his visitor, Dall sheep would still graze on the tundra with the caribou. (Brown, 1981, p. 30; Northwest Alaska Elders, 1991, pp. 48-51)

In the Qayaq story, our Iñupiaq hero benevolently teases his visitor. Qayaq was not trying to be malicious, just teasing his visitor. *Quvianniulikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq* (Humor) is a big part of our lives. Humor is not supposed to make an individual embarassed or humiliated. At every *Katimarugut* (We Are Meeting), all of the participants used humor when they shared.

***Uqaaqtuaŋich Quvianniulikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq* (Personal Stories of Humor)**

Our Iñupiat ancestors lived in villages much smaller than they are now; and prior to settling they lived a nomadic lifestyle, following animals according to the seasons. Their living conditions were much more intimate than contemporary times:

Kaman: In…in a really close living situation, where you have a lot people in a small house, you need something to, um, lighten up the stress level. Because you're…like you're, all winter long, in this little house with a whole group of people.

Ahnaughuq: And I think part of that is, sometimes it just comes naturally, I mean, within our people, I mean. And it depends on the community. It really does, where you grow up. I mean, I move…I lived in Nome and Kotzebue. That's a bigger community. We had a lot of humor. But it was more like teasing and making fun of others, because that was included. But then there's also…we were just talking about the funny things, the funny parts of life. You know, you kinda talk about it and laugh about it. So, um, I agree with [Kaman]. You know, you kinda have to take humor on and being able to deal with the situation. That may be eventually too unpleasant. So…and I think it's an adaptation that a lot of people that live up North had to adapt to. Because, you're right, it has to kinda relieve some of the stress and make it so that we don't have to focus on the negative side of things. (Personal communication, September 2012)

In this conversation, *Quvianniulikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq* (Humor) reminds us about *Atchiksuaḷiq* (Humility). Life can be stressful at times. How one deals with stress varies from *iñuk* to *iñuk*. Using humor to handle stressful situations has been passed down for generations. In *Lore of the Iñupiat*, Lucy Aviññaq Hadley, an Iñupiaq Elder from Buckland recalls:

> The children from Deering and the Buckland River area played games, including playing on a jumping board…The next thing we knew, Aglumaruuraq had stepped on ice that everyone else had already stepped on and down he went, into the water. He was always making us laugh. That is an example of what life was like in those days. (Northwest Alaska Elders, 1992, p. 191)

This Elder expresses the importance for children to laugh and not to take life too seriously. The child who fell in the water made light of the situation, practiced humility, and made everybody laugh.

The late Dr. Deanna Marie Paniataaq Kingston, a King Island Inupiaq and anthropologist, wrote a book in 1996 entitled *Illuweet (Teasing Cousin) Songs as an Expression of King Island*

Inupiaq Identity. This means that the Iñupiat have teasing cousins much like the Yupiit. Participants also discussed the unique relationship they have with their teasing cousins:

> **Ahnaughuq**: Yeah, and even among family members. I mean, there's different cousins that will always tease each other, because they're trying to make each other laugh or you know. There's always gonna be family members that, you know, you have that relationship. But it shows that you have that relationship with them. I've had cousins that were in Shishmaref, and we were like best friends. How we've become best friends, however it came, it's just part of growing up. And then we just kinda connected, and we started hanging out. And…but we got to be the point where it's the same type of idea. We can tease each other over different things, because we know each other. And then it would be different as if their best friends, other than me being their cousin, would be able to tease them with. And it's a different relationship. (Personal communication, September 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Quvianniułikun Tipsisaaġiļiq* (Humor) is connected with *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles). Dr. John (2009) shares, "For an example, in our village dances, there are socially constructed cross-cousin teasing events where only local people will understand the history, depth, and humor of this relationship" (p.106). With many families there are cousins or other family members who have an unofficial role to be close to one another, which creates a bond between the two individuals and creates a bond between the families.

The participants continued to talk about humor. The discussions naturally flowed from one topic to another, and we observe other Iñupiaq values embedded with *Quvianniułikun Tipsisaaġiļiq* (Humor). Below is a conversation demonstrating the fluidity of *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* discussions. Even though the purpose of the *Katimarugut* was *Quvianniułikun Tipsisaaġiļiq*, we noticed other Iñupiaq values were also included:

> **Ugik**: What I thought about today when I thought about what all I was going to talk about today was: my *Aana* and her best friend Eva would sometimes just chat around in Iñupiaq, and then just bust out laughing. And you could hear both of their laughs. They're both smokers, so they had a certain kinda laugh that I don't think anybody can re-create. And so I would never really know what they were talking about unless I asked. And I was

a little kid back then. So I would never, um, ask what they were talking about. But I can just…I can still hear them in the back of my head when I think about it, just two little old women laughing away. So I would learn. I used to be able to count to about 20 in Iñupiaq. But I can't anymore. When my grandma moved away – when my *Aana* moved away, my learning stopped. And that's sad. And I'm going to cry now, so I'm going to stop. Somebody else can talk.

…

Aulaqsruaq: That reminds me of discipline. I know that it's true with a lot of Natives down in the Lower 48, too. We use humor when we discipline, too. And I think that's actually a better way than trying to impose punishments and laws and directions and things like that kids. Because they develop it inside them when they are realizing, " 'Kay, I'm a little out of line. Maybe I should change." You know, instead of somebody telling you, "You behave." or "This is the way you should be." You know, and it's always without words. And when you just make light of it. Then you realize somebody is laughing at something you did. Then you realize, "Why are they laughing?" or maybe "I shouldn't have said that. That was something strange." You know, I think it's a good way to help kids develop an internal moral values.

Ahnaughuq: I got this one image in my mind, thinking about images. There's one time when I was in Shishmaref, and I was in my grandmother's house. And then I had a lot of cousins there, because there's a lot of bigger families. And there's a few of them that are really young. Like, I think, one of them was like a year or two-years-old. But there was a concession of like these five cousins. They're all girls, and they're like really close in age. So they're always in the house visiting Grandma. And so, it was so funny, because it was kinda getting crowded. And so, one of them was having, one of the older ones was having juice. And the other one got bumped. And then right below them is like the one- or two-year-old. And then it spilled on her. And my grandmother, by this time she was mostly in her, like laying in her bed whenever she relaxed. But it's like right next to the living room - everything's open. There's like hardly any doorways. And so, she was laughing about it. And then she said, "Oh, Christina just got baptized." She was just

laughing. "Baptized by juice." Because she was a church-going woman, but she was also laughing at the situation. Instead of someone getting mad and saying, "Oh, you shouldn't do that!" and, "Don't spill juice on your sister!" Instead of getting mad, she was just laughing about it. Because by that time, you don't want to…she was enjoying her grandkids. That was the whole point. Instead of going, "Oh!" Instead of scolding them, "Don't get too close." or, "You should sit at the table and drink your juice." and, "Stay here." So, and it made them realize, you know, nobody's perfect. And it's okay to act like this. And then, it probably helped one of my cousins learn don't try to get bumped when you're having your juice. So, I just remember that moment where she was just saying that. Oh yeah, baptized by juice. [LAUGHTER] (Personal communication, September 2012)

This is a lengthy conversation about *Quvianniułikun Tipsisaaġiłiq* (Humor). I want to show how discussions had a natural way of evolving, generating memories, and flowing from one topic to another. Ugik started the discussion with *Kamaksriłiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders) when talking about her *Aana* (Grandmother). I related how *Aatchuqtuutiłiq Avatmun* (Sharing) sometimes creates an atmosphere of positive experiences. Aulaqsruaq talked about using humor for discipline and shows *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñiałiq* (Domestic Skills). Then Ahnaughuq remembered a situation where her grandmother could have disciplined a child but chose not to, showing the connection with *Piqpaksriłiq Iłiłgaanik* (Love for Children).

Quvianniułikun Tipsisaaġiłiq (Humor) is a form of universal communication. Dr. Reimer (1999) writes, "The Inupiat not only express their happiness overtly but also display a wonderful sense of humor, which is very important to Native Americans" (p. 12). One of the participants also discussed this observation:

Aulaqsruaq: I think that Humor is a basic trait of all Native groups in North America. Because I've been out in other states: California, Oregon, Washington…especially at the powwows. The emcee is really good with humor. He's not really a good emcee unless he's really good with humor. But they also use humor as a way of dealing with stress. And, you know, there have been so many [injustices] done to the people. And they just stubbornly hang…many of them stubbornly hang onto their values and their way of

thinking. It's so different from European way of thinking. And the way they want to hold onto those values is by talking about it. So they make light of these differences. And those differences that cause stress on them in everyday life, you know. I do know that people up here, I'm not sure why, in Alaska…I hate to say this, but they…they almost seem more silly.

Kaman: Maybe something related to that. A developmental psychologist studied, um, Canadian Inuit. And he found out that when the mother carries the baby on their back, looking right over their shoulder. The baby gets a lot of different views than just being like in a cradle or something. Because the mother is moving around and doing things. And the baby's looking over her shoulder. So the baby grows up with a lot of different viewpoints. Not just one…not just from one place. So that actually affects their development. And…it's…it let's you, as an adult, look at things in different ways. It helps you look at things from different perspectives, because you grew up doing that. So maybe part of being, oh, kinda silly is you can also look at things from a…you can look at things from a humorous side, as well as the…the serious side of just trying to stay alive. (Personal communication, September 2012)

In this discussion, we see that *Quvianniulikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq* (Humor) is connected with *Kamakkutiḷiq* (Respect for Others). From an outsider's perspective, it may seem that Iñupiaq humer is silly. However, we had our reasons for expressing humor. For example, Jason Lee shares, "They used humor in the stories they told. They used humor when something funny happened. And, they used humor to try and cheer up someone who had just lost a loved one" (VNN, 1996). The Iñupiaq grow up looking at the world from multiple perspectives from infancy to adulthood. Aulaqsruaq and Kaman observed how American Indians and Canadian Inuit use *Quvianniulikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq* in their cultural ceremonies and childrearing.

Our unique humor is part of our *ilitqusiq* (spirit). That is one of the reasons I put *Quvianniulikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq* in the *Iñuk* chapter, because it is unique to each individual. *Quvianniulikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq* was present at all 17 meetings. When you look at the quotes provided in this dissertation, you will see "[LAUGHTER]" included in many of them. It is not

only an important Iñupiaq value, it is also a natural cultural value. It is rare to not experience humor during any meeting, whether it is for research, business, or personal commuications.

Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Framework for *Iñuk* (Person)

Our Elders need to be involved in our lives for the survival of our cultural values and traditions, and we Iñupiat need to seek out that wisdom. Our oral stories have rich knowledge. Each Iñupiaq *iñuk* (person) has his or her understanding and view of our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq values). Our cultural values constantly converge with one another. For example, we see that *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality) converges with *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature) when we acknowledge a spirit in all things natural. We see that *Atchiksualiq* (Humility) converges with *Aŋunialguliq* (Hunter Success) when we recognize that boastful hunters can be unsuccessful. We see that *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* (Avoid Conflict) converges with *Kamakkutiliq* (Respect for Others) and *Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun* (Sharing) when people share food even though individuals may be feuding. We see that *Iḷisimaliq Uqapialiġmik* (Knowledge of Language) converges with *Kamakkutiliq* (Respect for Others) when we recognize there are different Iñupiaq dialects. We see that *Savvaqtuliq* (Hard Work) converges with *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature) when we use every part of the animal and tan the hides traditionally. We see that *Quvianniulikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq* (Humor) converges with *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles) when we come together with our teasing cousins to share stories and laugh. Through the discussions by the participants, it is apparent that *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality), *Atchiksualiq* (Humility), *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* (Avoid Conflict), *Iḷisimaliq Uqapialiġmik* (Knowledge of Language), *Savvaqtuliq* (Hard Work), and *Quvianniulikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq* (Humor) begin with the *iñuk* (person).

The participants view the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* for the *Iñuk* (Person) from their personal experiences. The cultural values for the *iñuk* (person) were passed down to the participants through observation and personsal situations. We pass down our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* for the *iñuk* (person) by sharing these personsal stories with our children. Through the personal stories, we see the balance of the cultural values as they converge with each topic.

In the next chapter, we continue our epic journey with *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat: Inner Views of Our Iñupiaq Values* by visiting the *Iḷat* (Family).

Chapter 6: *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Kaŋŋituŋa* (My Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Research) – *Iḷat* (Family)

List of Values

Iḷisimaḷiq Iḷagiiḷiġmik (Knowledge of Family Tree)
Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich (Family Roles)
Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik (Love for Children)
Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñiaḷiq (Domestic Skills)
Aŋunialguḷiq (Hunter Success)

For the purposes of this dissertation, the 17 *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* are distributed into the three parts of our cultural heritage: *Iñuk* (Person), *Iḷat* (Family), and *Nunaaqqiq* (Village). The Iñupiaq word for 'family' is *iḷat*. I have chosen the above five values, because they specifically relate toward family and two have the word 'family' in the value. The family begins with the *Iḷisimaḷiq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Family Tree). *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles) are distributed within the *iḷat.* Children are usually included in families, and *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children) is prevalent. *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñiaḷiq* (Domestic Skills) are practiced at the home. *Aŋunialguḷiq* (Hunter Success) provides sustenance to the *iḷat*. These values can also be included in *Iñuk* (Person) and *Nunaaqqiq* (Village).

We begin to look at the *iḷat* by sharing our views about *Iḷisimaḷiq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Family Tree), how *Iḷisimaḷiq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* was passed down to us, and how we pass *Iḷisimaḷiq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* down to our children. I would like to remind the reader that each indiviual will have their own interpretation of the following stories in my research. My research provides the reader the chance to connect and reflect on her or his own meaning of each cultural value.

Iḷisimaḷiq Iḷagiiḷiġmik (Knowledge of Family Tree)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. His father, Nunamiu, came from the Eastern Mountains while his mother, Qimmiq[9], was from the Western Mountains known to have magic abilities (Northwest Alaska Elders, 1991; Oman, 1995; Brown, 1981). The mountains were separated during the Big Flood. The families who survived the Big Flood are the origins of Qayaq's family tree. (Oquilluk, 1973, pp. 53-61; Oman, 1995, p. 24-31)

In the Qayaq story, his ancestors recognize the importance of knowing who you are. It was vital to know your family tree for many reasons. There were times when one person would have a half-sibling in another village because of the spousal exchanges. Rachel Craig, an Iñupiaq Elder from Kotzebue, talked at a conference about shared spouses who would build a relationship between families in another village (personal communication, 2000). Families would know that when they visited the other village or had their children visit that village, they would have a safe place to stay. There were instances where there were half-siblings in a village far away; and travelers would know, since they had the knowledge of their family tree to visit the village and know that they would have a place to stay and eat when visiting.

Participants shared their views on *Iḷisimaḷiq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Family Tree) with each other through personal stories. Participants identified their relatives by name in some conversations, usually revealing how they are recognized by their white fox name. As a reminder from the *Katimarugut* (We Are Meeting) Chapter, each participant in my research stated in the Informed Consent Form (see Appendix B) that they wanted to be identified by his or her Iñupiaq name. All participants were given a draft of all sections and had an opportunity for any information to be excluded. The conversations in this section have been approved by all of the participants involved with the research.

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[9] Qayaq's parents are named only in Brown's publication (1981, pp. 5-7). According to the Northwest Alaska Elders (1991), Qayaq had a cousin Ukuunaaqtuaq who had similar adventures (pp. 6-7).

Uqaaqtuaŋich Iḷisimaliq Iḷagiiḷiġmik (Personal Stories of Knowledge of Family Tree)

I feel it is important to include with *Iḷisimaliq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* so that our descendants understand their family's history. It takes humility for those who do wish to share the information. Many times the information is not shared:

> **Asiqłuq**: In my ancestry, people have been telling me in the last ten years that I'm part, they say part Laplander, but the correct word would be part Sámi. And I remember growing up and looking at my dad's CIB card (it's "Certificate of Indian Blood") and seeing the top number whited out. It said "4/4", but you can see the top number whited out, and he put 4 on there. He was 3/4. There's part of the shame of being of mixed heritage, I guess in that generation. And so they didn't talk about being part Sámi. And so for me I work with a lot of Indigenous people worldwide including some Sámi people. And they ask me, when I tell them that I'm part Sámi because I know that I am, and I'm not ashamed of saying it, they ask me who my ancestors are. And I can't tell them who because it wasn't shared with me. (Personal communication, February 2013)

The Elders identified the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* back in the early '80s. In our recent past, children were sent out of our villages for school or due to influenza or diphtheria. Many children were sent out of the village to other parts Alaska and the Lower 48. To say that *Iḷisimaliq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Family Tree) in an important Iñupiaq Value reaches out towards all the other Iñupiat people who may have left their ancestral lands. It is important to remember who you are.

Our ancestors knew the importance of knowing one's genealogy, especially when one becomes an adult and starts thinking about courtship. There are participants who have grown up in a village and shared their experiences with *Iḷisimaliq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Family Tree) and the pursuit of a potential mate:

> **Kaman**: As far as knowing your family tree out in the village, it also had a practical application, because the old people knew that you couldn't marry somebody too closely related to you. And I found out a bit about that visiting my parents out in the village. I'd

ask Mom, "Are we related to her?" [LAUGHTER] "Yeah, she's cute. Are we related to her?" [LAUGHTER]

Asiqłuq: Yep, even before [Ahnaughuq] and I started dating, we had to ask our parents to see if we were related, because Shishmaref and Teller are pretty close. And I know that I have relatives in Shishmaref. But no, we're not related. [LAUGHTER]

Ahnaughuq: Yes, we did have to check.

Asiqłuq: We had to check. So there is a practical application to Knowledge of Family Tree. (Personal communication, February 2013)

In many villages, there are more relatives than there are suitors:

Itqiliuraq: James says that he's related to 83% of the Iñupiaqs on the North Slope. And that shows your family ties that connects…I couldn't name you 83 of my relatives. So I've got them, I know I do. But I've always been so impressed by how so many of my friends can name three or four generations of cousins and uncles behind them. How do you keep track of all that?

Asiqłuq: You know the Māori people down in New Zealand; they tell people that they can trace their ancestry back to the stars, back to the beginning of time, which is pretty impressive. And the Native Hawaiians, they can trace their ancestry to a plant. So they show that they're related to plants. I find that really intriguing as well, because you don't separate Nature and humanity. Humanity is still a part of Nature, and there's still Respect for Nature, another Iñupiaq Value.

Kaman: Mm-hm (affirmative). In one of the storybooks Mom had, they talked about people being related to animals. One of the stories said that all life came from the same egg. So it was like we're related to all living things. (Personal communication, February 2013)

In these converations, we see that *Iḷisimaliq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Family Tree) is connected with *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature). In the earlier conversation, one of the practical applications of knowing one is not related to a potential mate relates to the possible prevention of genetic disorders due to inbreeding. With the latter discussion, we recognize we are part of Nature through our creation stories. I have talked about some Iñupiat

creation stories in Chapter 2, under *Iñupiaq Research*. There are several dialectal groups of Iñupiaq, therefore our stories may differ. That is why it is important to share our stories from each Iñupiaq group and pass them to our descendants, so they can understand their cultural heritage and embedded Iñupiaq Values in our stories.

Before Western contact, Iñupiat were usually given one name. Our ancestors did not have a writing system, so the names were passed down orally. After Western contact, many missionaries were given the task to document names with a census. One participant shared how his Iñupiaq name became written down:

> **Kaman**: He had an Eskimo name, and I don't think he had an English name. His name was Kamana, K-A-M-A-N-A. And my grandfather, his son, was Harry Karmun, Kaman without the 'a' on the end. And they Anglicized his name to 'Karmun', K-A-M-A-N-A. Yeah, he's the one who moved from Wales to Shishmaref and kind of behind Deering.
> **Ahnaughuq**: And I know like my mom's dad and his dad, they had Onalik as their name. And when it came to be my mom's dad, and that was the same generation where they were given a first name or last name. And I think some missionaries asked them, "What did you want? Do you want a first name or do you want a last name?" That's how you get to see "Washingtons" and "Joneses," you know all these different names that are more common like "Smith." But my mom's dad had chosen "Onalik" as his last name. So that's how it got to be kept in the family. So you know who the Onaliks are from Noatak. (Personal communication, February 2013)

This conversation shows us how *Iḷisimaliq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Family Tree) is connected with *Kamakkutiliq* (Respect for Others). Kaman shares how names were often misspelled by outsiders. In my master's project, I write:

> My last name is Topkok. My Atchaga (Aunt) Clara Topkok pronounces it *Tapqaq* (using the North Slope Iñupiaq spelling). *Tapqaq* means "peninsula or sand spit". When the missionaries were recording names in written form, they did not have an orthography to go by. Hence, Tapqaq sounded like Topkok to the missionaries. (Topkok, 2010, p. 37)

The assigning of white fox names is not unique to just the Iñupiat. In many situations, including that of the Iñupiat, missionaries gave members of the same family different last names:

> **Umialik**: I was thinking about it when [Kaman] was talking. Oh, I know, he said several generations back Iñupiaq people just had one name. And it reminded me, I heard of some Athabascan families that brothers lived a ways apart, probably along the Yukon River, and it was at the time when they just had one name. And then they were given English names. And it was different people that was giving these brothers English names, so they got different last names, because the people giving them names had no idea of the family history of these people and where their relatives were. It's kind of sad that that happened, but I imagine that their Indigenous name is still important to them, probably not as important as their English name. They probably just took that with a grain of salt. I'm guessing, but I don't know. (Personal communication, February 2013)

The notion of naming is still connected with *Kamakkutiłiq* (Respect for Others). With Western contact, many Iñupiat adapted to the outsiders way of life including religion, schooling, and so forth. (Lund, 1974; Gray, 2007). Despite the new Western naming process, our families remember the importance of knowing one's family tree.

Related to *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles), in contemporary times it can be a challenging skill to remember who you are related to. In some families, there may be one person documenting and remembering all of a family tree:

> **Ahnaughuq**: And I know about five years ago, it's getting to be like five years ago, when my grandma died, my mom's mom. And I got to go back to the funeral, because I just really needed to reconnect with that family. That's when I realized when they were listing out her obituary, what they hand out at the church, and when they list the families in the back. They were being very careful of making sure they included all the grandchildren, all the great-grandchildren, if there were any great-great-grandchildren. So that was really quite a bit and a good way of seeing how I am related to all these people, because it actually was part of the program for the funeral. So I may not know their ages, but at least I got some names. But I do remember with [Asiqłuq's] family, that one of his cousins Linda came and visited to Fairbanks. She got to visit with us. And she was all excited to

> get to know us a little bit more. She was the keeper of how many people were in the Topkok family. And I'm thinking it might happen in some of the families, that you find that one person that you look towards as being able to say, "Okay, I know this information." 'Cause it's like if your mom passed down the information to all the kids just to help keep things straight. And I was like, "Gosh, I wonder on my side?" 'Cause my dad only had three kids. So it's a lot less kids to try to remember names, actually four kids. My mom had two older ones, then me. But anyways, now I'm thinking about all the nephews and nieces I got. And it's getting to be a larger population. And I'm thinking, "I better help keep things straight." [LAUGHTER] (Personal communication, February 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Iḷisimaḷiq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Family Tree) is connected with *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñiaḷiq* (Domestic Skills). Ahnaughuq talks about the family reunion that happened during a funeral. It takes *Savaqatigiiyuḷiq* (Cooperation) is list out all of the relatives in the obituary. In the obituary, you see *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders) by listing past or surviving parents and grandparents. She also shares the need to have at least one family member take on the role of "keeper" of the knowledge.

This meeting went very well. Some participants learned more about their own family tree from other relatives who were present. When talking about genealogy, one participant found out she was more closely related than she thought to another participant. Many participants took pride in knowing their family tree, while others are still in the process of learning.

In the next section, we share our views about *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles), how *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* was passed down to us, and how we pass *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* down to our children.

Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich (Family Roles)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. He came upon a village and married a local woman whom became pregnant with their child. As the time got closer for the birth, she and other female villagers became

despondent, because in that village babies were delivered by caesarean section, killing the mothers. Qayaq taught the female villagers how to give birth and survive. (Brown, 1981, pp. 31-32; Northwest Alaska Elders, 1991, pp. 68-71)

In the Qayaq story, our Iñupiaq hero helps teach the village women how to become midwives. The midwife's role is to help the expectant mother with the birth. Each family has roles that need to be filled in order to endure. Participants share their views about *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles).

Uqaaqtuaŋich Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich (Personal Stories of Family Roles)

Every adult member in an Iñupiaq community has the role of an educator. During ancestral times, children did not learn from one person whose only role in the village was to be a teacher. Children had hands-on education from parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins, etc. An Iñupiaq Elder, Chester Asagaq Seveck, shares:

> A man would instruct his son or grandson what to do in case of emergencies or when he went out to hunt. He would tell him what to do when the weather was bad. One of the most common topics of advice was to always watch the weather. Although there was no formal training, people learned what to do in case of emergencies. This information was passed on over the years from generation to generation. (Northwest Alaska Elders, 1990)

Our Elders and parents had a direct hand in our education. With the primary role of education, men would teach the boys, and women would educate the girls. Much of the education involved hunting and survival skills. One participant shared:

> **Itqiliuraq**: Most Indigenous cultures that I've studied, uncles train their nephews, aunts train their nieces; especially in a young boy, by the time you're 13 all of a sudden you and dad can't see eye to eye anymore and all. In our case, I had my youngest brother live with us, and then lived next door. [My son], what I consider most of his important upbringing as far as respect to girls and teachers and stuff, was really done by his uncle. Because I couldn't talk straight up with my dad until I was in my 20s. But Samuel

> Simmons and I can sit down and talk about the little girl next door, why she was different, and we can talk of all kinds of things. And that doesn't mean to belittle my dad or anybody's dad, but very often that's (culturally) uncles, in this case Samuel Simmons. And his kids, Samuel's kids, talk all the time about how come I know this and they don't. And I said, "How come you know what my dad said and I don't?" [LAUGHTER] So there's a give and take there. (Personal communication, May 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles) is connected with *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* (Avoid Conflict). Itqiliuraq's adopted uncle, Samuel Simmons, talked to him about anything, because the role of the uncle is to give advice without having any kind of conflict. A young Iñupiaq man should be able to go to an uncle with that role, and the Iñupiaq uncle should answer honestly to ensure proper education.

The late Delbert Eningowuk, an Elder from Shishmaref, Alaska, was my wife's great-uncle. My wife and I called him "Uncle Del." He came to Fairbanks in October 2007 to participate in the First Alaskans Institute Elders and Youth Conference. He spoke with my family about the need for our people to learn survival skills and draw upon the knowledge that the Elders have. He said that it is necessary, so that you know how to survive if your snowmachine breaks down. He expressed that this type of knowledge is not getting passed down to the younger generation. He passed away in January 2009. In *Lore of the Iñupiat*, an Iñupiaq Elder, Clinton Iŋnitchiaq Swan, shares:

> I learned the things I needed to learn from my grandparents and uncle. I learned to live the traditional life, not the white man's way. I learned many things by watching and I also had a lot of people who taught me different things. (Northwest Alaska Elders, 1990)

During ancestral times, much of the learning was through repeated observations and hands-on learning. It is still an effective way of teaching in contemporary times. There is the old African proverb, "It takes a village to raise a child."

A child's education has to be consistent. Children do not learn from a one-time activity. They must be exposed to cultural learning on a regular basis. One participant shared:

> **Ahnaughuq**: My sister's partner, when they had their boys, they would go out hunting and fishing, and everything – all kinds of subsistence outside of Kotzebue. That included

bear hunting, caribou hunting, and musk ox. They would go fishing for their salmon. And they would just have their freezer full of all kinds of meat. It was really neat. My nephew, he's already caught two bears, and that's a pretty big thing. That was a year round thing. My dad, with me and our family, he would go hunting year round. But he wouldn't necessarily bring us. Well, I'm an oldest girl, but he would bring my brother. And so, he got to learn how to hunt at a young age, too. Most of our hunting was in June, because my dad's an NOAA[10] federal position, work eleven months out of the year, eleven and a half months and get his two weeks off in June, And so, he would take us to Shishmaref in June. And, you know, depending on how much meat he had, he would be gone two weeks, three weeks, and take the whole family to Shishmaref. You know, that's where we'd do our helping out, the spring hunt. (Personal communication, January 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles) is connected with *Aŋunialgułiq* (Hunter Success). Ahnaughuq's family subsists regularly. As long as a child is exposed to a cultural activity, the child makes it part of their life. All of my sons were babies whenever we had a dance performance. They grew up listening to Iñupiaq music, as well as other Native music. All of my sons sing Iñupiaq songs all on their own, even when they think that nobody are listening.

I asked, "Why do you think the Elders put down Family Roles as something that is important for one of the Iñupiaq values?" One person answered, "So we know how to treat each other." Another participant replied:

Aqimayuk: Maybe, in the small villages, each family had a specific role to keep the village going. Or each family had responsibilities to the whole village, the village as a whole. Because when they caught something, they made sure they gave to the ones who couldn't provide for themselves. (Personal communication, January 2013)

In this discussion, we see that *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles) is connected with *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiliq* (Responsibility to Tribe). There are old stories about widows and orphans. We were taught to take care of all of the people in the village.

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[10] National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

Some roles are taught when a person enters into a marriage. The in-laws pass down family roles in order to fulfill the some of the family needs. A participant shared what her mother went through to understand her role as a new wife in an area she was not familiar:

> **Ahnaughuq**: My mom is from Noatak. That's up the river, up the Noatak River from Kotzebue. And she was an inland Eskimo. She's used to the tall trees, the spruce trees. She's used to moose, she's used to caribou. She's used to whatever fish she gets from the river, and whatever plants are from that area. When she met my dad, they met at Mt. Edgecombe, I believe, or at least from Kotzebue. And they got together, and he's from Shishmaref, which is totally coastal. And that's seal hunting, walrus hunting. Then whatever you get from the land, the caribou, all the birds, ducks, geese – you know, small rabbits. I remember him catching rabbits. And so, but the biggest thing – my mom, when she got together with him, because traditionally he would always go back to Shishmaref, even though he was still working for NOAA, and that was the very beginning of his career. So went back to Shishmaref and brought her, and that was the first time that she had to cut up seal. And I can remember my mom saying that my dad's mom, my grandmother, was very adamant about teaching her how to do things right; so that she knows how to help and that she was expected – that was her family role – expected to go back every year and help with the seal hunting and the seal harvest. Because once the guys went out there and hunted and brought it back, then it was the women, or all of them, would be filleting them out, separating out the sealskin, the seal blubber, then the meat. And then hanging it up to dry, and there's a certain way to do it, so there's less amount of bugs on it. All kinds of things about how to prepare it, and usually a lot of it depends on the weather, too. The was the biggest thing, too, was knowing what to do when it got too warm, got too cool, you know, affect the drying time of the meat, and then how you render the seal oil. But that was the biggest thing that she said was, you know, her learning how to cut up seal and walrus. And she got used to it. And since I'm the first-born girl, I was encouraged to do it. But because it was that transition time of where Western culture came in, and I only spoke English, mostly English, and so I didn't

help out as much. It should have been my role. But I was also spoiled. My dad wanted to spoil me. (Personal communication, January 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles) is connected with *Savaqatigiiyuliq* (Cooperation), *Savvaqtuliq* (Hard Work) and *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children). With Ahnaughuq's example, the role of the new wife is to help with subsistence activities and work hard to learn how to butcher animals correctly. The eldest daughter's role is to help her mother with the tasks the mother has been doing while raising the children.

Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich (Family Roles) is connected with *Iḷisimaḷiq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Family Tree). Iñupiaq names are given to babies at birth. A child is usually named after a recently deceased relative. An Elder would know a child's genealogy just by their Iñupiaq name. The child is believed to take on the characteristics of the *atiiŋ*, though the Iñupiat do not necessarily believe in reincarnation (Craig, 2011). The Iñupiaq names are not gender specific. One of my sons has two Iñupiaq names, which is not an uncommon event. One of my son's names comes from a friend's daughter, whom we consider part of our *iḷat* (family). Whenever he sees my son, he treats him like his own child. There may be those who are not from the Iñupiaq culture who may not understand our cultural connection to our ancestors.

Our Iñupiaq Elders encourage us to know who our relatives are, including those in other villages. If we ever need any help when we are traveling, we know whom we can turn to. The late Rachel Craig, an Iñupiaq Elder from Kotzebue, Alaska, shared at a meeting that one of the reasons the Iñupiat traditionally traded spouses was to build family ties between the villages (personal communication, 2000). This is example of *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles) relating to *Iḷisimaḷiq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Family Tree). They were thinking of their children, establishing future relations so that their offspring could travel safely to other villages. Hall (1975) writes, "It was this kinship relationship, with its privileges, responsibilities, and obligations, that allowed peoples of one group to come into peaceful contact with those of another and to carry out trade" (p. 13). The two families then had roles and a responsibility for taking care of and educating children from both relations.

I asked, "So what do we need to teach our future cultural bearers?" Kaman replied, "The thing to teach about Family Roles is that they're not better or worse than each other. They're all

equal, but different. That everything is important. That everyone is important" (personal communication, January 2013). Another participant added, "Help out whenever you can. Make sure your Elders are taken care of. Lend a hand whenever you can" (personal communication, January 2013). With these replies, we see that *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles) is connected with *Savaqatigiiyuliq* (Cooperation). We need to cooperate with each other to recognize how all roles serve a purpose. Our role to cooperate with each other is to lend help whenever it is needed.

In January 2009, I decided to get *tuutaq* (labrets), since this is part of my cultural heritage that was not being observed in contemporary times. My male ancestors would get a *tuutaq* after they successfully hunted a walrus. I did not go through an ancestral ritual. I went to a local tattoo and piercing shop to safely get my metal labrets. I have made ivory *tuutak* (dual for *tuutaq*) in order to honor my ancestors. When I showed the cultural bearer for our Iñupiaq dance group, she immediately laughed and exclaimed, "You're ugly!" (Personal communication, 2009) She responded that she did not mean that I am currently ugly. She explained that she remembers that men used to get *tuutaq* in order to make themselves more attractive. My cousin shared that when talking with my *Auk* (grandmother) she explained:

> [*Tuutaq* was] used for beauty marks for the men, but she also said when the men killed fresh game from the sea like the walrus, the men ate some part of the organ, but eating it raw you had to let the blood out from your mouth, were you removed the labraits [sic] while eating an organ raw. (Personal communication, 2009)

I have three sons. My sons' friends have asked me if I am going to force them to get *tuutaq* when they reach a certain age. I do not pressure my sons to get pierced.

The female members in our dance group draw their *tavluġun* (chin tattoo) for performances and presentations. We explain that we were told that the *tavluġun* are sewn into a woman's chin. Only one line is sewn to demonstrate that the woman can withstand the pain of childbirth. The one-line *tavluġun* signifies that the woman is at a marriageable age and is single. When the woman gets married, two more lines are sewn to signify that she is taken. In November 2011, my wife got a real *tavluġun.*

How do I view my role in my family? I do provide financial support for my family, but that is not my only role. As a father, grandfather, and husband, I provide emotional and cultural support for my family. I may not be able to go out hunting for my family, but I do wish to learn more about that cultural practice. My parental and spousal roles are to be involved with my family: help my children and grandson learn, support my wife in her endeavors, be a positive role model, and be actively engaged with family life.

In the next section, we share our views about *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children), how *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* was passed down to us, and how we pass *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* down to our children.

Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik (Love for Children)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. While he was pulling a sled along, he came upon a weeping couple. Qayaq asked why they were crying, and they responded that they did not see him approach. They became blind from weeping over their dead son, killed by an Umialik. The couple was so happy for Qayaq's sympathy that they invited him to stay with them. (Oman, 1995, pp. 19-20)

In this Qayaq story, the couple loved and mourned their son so much that it blinded them. The time that we have with our children as young people is precious and limited before they turn into young adults. In this section, participants share their views about *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children).

Uqaaqtuaŋich Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik (Personal Stories of Love for Children)

With many Iñupiaq gatherings, we encourage our children to be included. The children may not be active participants in a meeting or completely engaged with the activities surrounding them, but they are present at the gatherings. While the children are at the gatherings, all of the

attending adults are watching and vigilant over them, protecting them. An Elder participant shared:

> **Itqiliuraq**: I think the very first image of Love for Children was in Barrow, when we would have the complete-village feasts, the big ones. And you'd have thought the children were having free rein, but really they were all being watched. But by about 11:00 at night, we'd be drumming and dancing. All of a sudden all these little kids are asleep, all over the floor. And nobody goes out and moves them. Nobody goes and admonishes them, "You just fell asleep in the middle of the dance floor, and everyone's dancing around you," or "You just fell asleep on somebody else's lap. Now you've tied up Aaka Nita." And Aaka Nita has lots of other things she could be doing; but there she sits, because some little kid fell asleep. So very early the impression of the respect, and the love, and the pride of having the children part of Barrow, part of our whole social structure, was very evident to me at a very, very early age. And I'm not saying we took advantage of that in any way. But it was…that was life. Everybody, I've said it before, every home was my home. Every mom and dad was my mom and dad. Every grandparent could admonish me or praise me or take pride in what I was learning. And a lot of that came from Barrow. In those days, Barrow was small enough. You go into Barrow now, there's 7000 people. You don't know everybody. But you know when I was a little kid, you knew everybody and everybody knew you. And so it was very, very, very real to me that children were a very important part of our community and was watched over all the time. (Personal communication, March 2013)

A non-Iñupiaq may not understand the inclusion of children in these activities. It is part of our Iñupiaq epistemology to involve children in celebrations and meetings, since they are part of our Future Realm. In this conversation, we see that *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children) is connected with *Savaqatigiiyuḷiq* (Cooperation). The adults in the village cooperate with each other to watch over the children. Hall (1975) writes, "Children remain a focal point of the Noatak family world, as they always have in Eskimo society" (p. 33). Children are precious. Itqiliuraq talks about not scolding the sleeping child at the gathering, so the love shown is with the Elder's patience.

The participants talked about children in their grandparents' homes. They also shared intimate moments creating special memories that only a grandchild could gain:

> **Ahnaughuq**: Well, even with, you know, Love of Children, thinking about my own grandma. There was the times I do remember being sick. And my grandma's the one…if I happen to be in Shishmaref, because we'd go there every summer. And one of the things that she would let me do, or if I came in from the cold, and I would end up sleeping in her bed with her. That was a Love of Children. She let me sleep with her. And that was a big thing, because I didn't know if other grandkids were allowed to sleep with her. And I remember her being able to warm up my feet, because my feet were the coldest. And she would say, "Put 'em on my belly." And I would warm up my feet on her belly. And it was just like, "Oh." And I felt so special. And, you know, part of it was I was named after her. And you know, and so…but that was one thing, that she really showed love is being able to do things like that. (Personal communication, March 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders) is still a big part of *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children). Dr. Lewis (2009) states, "It is also important to note that family not only gives these elderly women a sense of purpose, but also enables them to remain in their homes and communities and serve as a source of support" (p. 109). He talks about the Elders' well-being is connected with a sense of purpose for their family. In turn, the children feel the love from their grandparents. When my mother was still alive, she said that she did not have a favorite son or grandchild. But she had a way of making each of us feel special independently.

The *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children) extends beyond the biological and adopted children. The whole village would show *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* by sharing *unipkaat* (old stories or legends) and *uqaaqtuat* (personal stories), knowing that the youth are listening:

> **Itqiliuraq**: I can say that the news moved around in Barrow quite often was at Al's Cafe or at Tom Brower's Store. And they had a potbelly stove in the middle of both of those rooms. And the old men would sit around. And I can never remember being run out totally. And I would just hang around, pretending I was freezing to death, just to listen to the old man, you know, talk and tell stories. And I'm sure a lot of the stories were told

because us kids were standing there. You know, and they were, without us knowing, they were teaching us. They were teaching us and giving…doing oral history and stuff. Because if they'd sat us down, "Now listen to this!" We'd probably be like most kids, out the door right now. But if thought we were being sneaky and listening in. (Personal communication, March 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children) is connected with *Quvianniulikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq* (Humor). Archibald (2008) shares, "Looking to Indigenous traditional principles helps preserve the cultural power of stories and ensures that story pedagogy is educationally sound and beneficial" (p. 138). Our stories must continue, and our oratory skills, ways of telling stories, must also continue. Itqiliuraq shared that many of the stories were legends and personal stories during his generation. Also, some of the stories were to kindly tease the eavedroppers with humorous stories.

Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik (Love for Children) is expressed through the education of a child. Participants shared memories about what it was like growing up. One participant shared a memory of playing with pretend tools. This topic initiated how differently children are taught in contemporary times:

Ahnaughuq: I guess when you think about Love for Children, then you're also just…be making sure they are taught the right things. And so, I know growing up in Shishmaref…of course, it's like I said I grew up differently. In Kotzebue, we didn't have the same toys when we were in the village in Shishmaref. And in Shishmaref, I remember being a little girl. And I think it was either my mom or my dad, they were opening up a can of something. They took the can top, folded it in half, and it became my little *ulu*. And…and, you know, we got to cut grass. I got blades of grass, started pretending like I'm cutting up little fish or whatever. And that was a way of teaching me how to start working with my hands and how to cut something. And they didn't worry, like nowadays like, "Oh my gosh, you're going to get cut!" Yeah, "You're a little girl." And, "Oh, now you have to get a tetanus shot." Or something like that, you know, because of the little tin. And they're sharp when you cut them up. [LAUGHTER] They might have a little catch. And we're so much more careful nowadays, telling our kids, "Don't play with that,

it's sharp! Don't do this, it's sharp!" You know, "…or you might get hurt!" But back then, I thought about it, I was like, "Well, they gave me a little pretend *ulu*. They wanted me to learn how to work with it."

That's, I guess, in a way…you know, it makes me think how our values…even though we're talking about Love of Children, our Native values. In a way, they evolved to how we get impacted by today's media world and how we teach them. Because it is a very different world than when we were little, you know. But we still want to teach them the right things.

Itqiliuraq: Well, we see it with [two of our grandchildren] that both grandparents live in Fairbanks. And both grandparents see them at least every other day, at least. And there's different house rules. And there's different expectations. But those kids know they're loved by both. You know it doesn't make any difference. They don't hear Iñupiaq in anywhere except at our house. They don't…aren't associated with, you know, Native American things. But the love part of it is consistent across the board. And I think that's neat, you know. You could have another set of grandparents that were alcoholic or abusive or wouldn't want the kids. But we fight over our grandkids. [LAUGHTER] "No, it's my turn! You had them yesterday." But the love part of it is just consistent. And I think a lot of my growing up in Barrow was obvious, consistent, you know, love.

Umialik: What [Ahnaughuq] was saying reminded me of, you know, your parents letting you play with that. And, you know, they probably told you to be careful. My son and daughter-in-law, they…their daughter will be two in about a month and a half. And when she wanted to try to use a spoon, they let her. And, you know, even though it was a mess, they let her, you know, use the spoon and try to feed herself. And there's another co-worker of my daughter-in-law's that had a baby like three weeks either before or after, I forget. I think it was before. This other gal had a baby three weeks before. And I don't think she wanted to put up with the mess. So she, you know…she didn't let her child experiment with a spoon. And now you can tell…

Ahnaughuq: Their personalities?

Umialik: Well, no. Just [my granddaughter] is more…she'd gotten more experienced with a spoon. So she looks like she has…you know, she can feed herself better than this other kid. You know, not to brag. It's just that they…they didn't care that the baby made a mess. She wanted to try something they let her try it.

Asiqłuq: No, your granddaughter's special. [LAUGHTER]

Itqiliuraq: Well, you have to take some concern, you are grandparents. That comes with the territory. The night when we had that talk, we had some *ulus* laying there. And afterwards people were up and asking questions of all the different furs and the stuff. And [my granddaughter], bless her little heart, I don't know where she learned it, but at least she's not punished for picking up an *ulu*. She was describing *ulus*, "When you scrape skin, you take the *ulu*, and you lay it like this." And she's just working that. And then she says, "When you want to cut it, then you turn the *ulu* this way." [LAUGHTER] (Personal communication, March 2013)

This is a lengthy discussion, and I do not want to exclude anything. In this conversation, we see that *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children) is related to *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñiaḷiq* (Domestic Skills). Our Elders state:

> The young girls in our society had a lot of things they had to observe very closely. Some of these things had to do with the food they ate, they way they acted, and the things that happened to them when they became young mothers. (Gray et al., 1981, p.10)

Ahnaughuq shares how she played with sharp objects to learn the skill as a child. Nowadays, many parents are rightfully afraid of their children getting hurt and do not give them sharp objects. Umialik shares how her granddaughter was given a spoon even though she would most likely make a mess. The toys that children play with help them build their own skills.

Participants shared memories from their childhood, like the young girl putting her feet on her grandmother's stomach. They also shared experiences of raising their own children, like the father encouraging his son to talk to his uncle. Some participants talked about being involved with their grandchildren. The love that the participants have for all children could be felt in the

room as they were sharing their views. All of these apply to the Future Realm, where we treat our children well so that our descendants we be treated equally.

In the next section, we share our views about *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* (Domestic Skills), share how *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* was passed down to us, and share how we pass *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* down to our children.

Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq (Domestic Skills)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. Qayaq traveled with his uncle and asked him what was his favorite meal. His uncle replied that it was the spotted seal, a seal magically appeared, and Qayaq harpooned it. Qayaq built a fire while his uncle butchered the seal. They cooked the seal by placing hot rocks in water to boil the seal. They also roasted the seal liver. (Brown, 1981, pp. 44-45; Northwest Alaska Elders, 1991, pp. 136-137)

In the Qayaq story, our Iñupiaq hero harpoons a seal, butchers it, and cooks for his uncle. These are all important skills to have when out seal hunting. When I was training in martial arts, I learned to complete patterns called *katas*. During training, a student would do a *kata* over and over again until the pattern is mastered. These *katas* are the skills to help train one's mind and body in martial arts. Doing this regularly, the student tends to not forget or lose it. If one does not use one's language regularly, the person does not use that skill, and you may lose it. We do this over and over again for muscle memory. One does it so that she or he are prepared, so if one are ever in a situation to use the skill, she or he have built one's muscles, built the memory on how to do that, and can do it almost subconsciously. One of the reasons why our Elders wanted to include Domestic Skills is to not only having those skills, but also to practice those skills. We can pass it down to our next generations, so that they will remember who they are, because of these skills. Participants shared their views about *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* (Domestic Skills).

Uqaaqtuaŋich Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq (Personal Stories of Domestic Skills)

At the beginning of the *Katimarugut*, participants asked each other about the difference between *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* (Domestic Skills) and *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles):

> **Ugik**: So my question is, "What is Domestic Skills?" Is it housekeeping? Is it sewing?
>
> **Ahnaughuq**: I'm also thinking, you know, in comparison, "How is it different from Family Roles?" A lot of our cultural values, they overlap. So I'm wondering if it's similar to Family Roles, because then it's particular to a family member or a gender. But also, Domestic Skills, is it to be like what you can do for your family, so that you can ensure your survival? (Personal communication, April 2013)

The Iñupiaq word '*Kiŋuniġmi*' is closely related to the word 'kiñuniq' meaning 'home, household.' To begin answering this question, participants started listing skills that they learned in high school:

> **Ugik**: I took Home Ec. in high school. And I took every kind of Home Ec. there was. There was regular food cooking. There was some other kind of food…
>
> **Aviŋŋaq**: Baking, I think.
>
> **Ugik**: …baking. And then I took all the crafty…
>
> **Aviŋŋaq**: There's sewing.
>
> **Ugik**: …classes, sewing. There was even Child Development, there was all kinds of…
>
> **Aviŋŋaq**: Now, now, had you learned any of those things at home?
>
> **Ugik**: I was not a sewer…
>
> **Aviŋŋaq**: And is that why you took those classes?
>
> **Ugik**: I was not a sewer at home. I was sometimes kinda crafty, but I never did finish the rug I started in 7th grade. I still have it somewhere in my storage unit, which I need to clean out. [LAUGHTER]
>
> **Aviŋŋaq**: I have an afghan that I started in 10th grade, that Wendy's mom started for me. She did a granny square, and I just kept going. It's like this big, 15 years old, so 35 years. [LAUGHING]

Ugik: Cleaning the garage. I mean just because we were girls didn't mean that we didn't have to learn how to do guy things. My dad showed me how to change a tire. He showed us how to change the oil. Would I do these things right now? No, that's my husband's job. [LAUGHING]

Asiqłuq: That's the difference right there, is the skills. You learn how to do the skills. I think the operative word there for Domestic Skills is "skills." You learn how to do the changing-the-tires and changing-the-oil. The roles, doing it now, you know it's your husband's job.

Ugik: Right.

Asiqłuq: That's the difference between the Family Roles…

Tagalusiaq: Skills and Roles.

Asiqłuq: 'Role' is a thing…

Ugik: I have the "skill" but I don't have the "role."

Asiqłuq: And the "skill" is actually like doing something. For me at least, the way that I see it, the Elders really wanted to make sure that they included them both, and they had a reason why they wanted to include them. We all know that not all families come with a mom, a dad, and two and a half kids. So those are the family roles. So these skills needed to be there to help the domestic part, to help with the household, to learn how to hunt, to learn how to butcher, to learn how to sew, to learn how to do all these different things. These skills needed still to be passed on, and I think that's why the Elders included Domestic Skills in the Iñupiaq Values. (Personal communication, April 2013)

In this conversation, we see how *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* (Domestic Skills) is similar and different to *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles). It took a while to distinguish between the two values. It helped to start the *Katimarugut* with this discussion to help verbalize the subtle differences.

One of the participants remembered learning how to garden and other tasks from his parents and older siblings. They had a certain strategy to help encourage children to want to do jobs around the house:

Kaman: Part of why [Ugik] had to do gardening is because her mother had to do gardening. [LAUGHTER] I remember when I was little, we all helped with all kinds of things. And there were some jobs, I don't know if this was intentional, but it worked very well. Mom would say to us littler kids, "You're not big enough to do that yet." And we couldn't wait. [LAUGHTER] And the older kids started doing that, too, "You're not big enough." So they had to do things, they had to do jobs around the house. And Mom would tell the older kids that they had to do it, because the little kids weren't big enough. And the older kids picked up on that, "You can't do this. You're not big enough." [LAUGHTER]

Aviŋŋaq: It just encouraged you to want to do it more.

Kaman: Mm-hm (affirmative). And Mom said that when she was little, there was a really big difference between the way they learned things at home and the way they learned things at school. This was out in the village. The little kids learned things at home by helping their mother or their aunt or their grandmother would say, "Come and help me do this." And they would actually do whatever. The older person would actually do part of this job, get it started, show them how to do it. And then the kids would start trying it. And they'd get running commentary of either, "You're doing great," or "Stop, do it this way," things like that. (Personal communication, April 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* (Domestic Skills) can be taught with *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children). Dr. John (2009) writes:

> Elders say that when children learn to roll over on their own is a critical time to educate them about awareness and consciousness. It is time for the child to learn the Indigenous knowledge system, absorb the profound words of wisdom, develop observational skills, gain hands-on activity experiences, taste food, and learn about discipline management. (p. 34)

Kaman talks about the older children and parents encouraging the younger children to learn skills by having them anticipate reaching the appropriate age. The Elders would show their love by involving a child to observe and attempt the new skill.

One participant talked about her parents' traditional roles. For many people in her parents' generation, it was not a male's role to do certain tasks such as cooking, sewing, and so forth. Therefore, her father did learn the skills associated with those roles:

> **Ahnaughuq**: And so, times have changed I think in Domestic Skills, they really do. I mean I'm looking at my own dad. He's a very traditional Native man. He's the one that went hunting. He did the trapping. He did the ivory carving. And my mom on the other hand is the one that does the butchering and did the cooking and rearing of the children and being able to fill everything in between afterwards and the skinsewing especially, because my dad never did any skinsewing. That was my mom's job. But it's interesting to know that. And now my sister's picking up the skinsewing. And I'm thinking though she's still learning so much from my mom and my dad though. And out of necessity, her husband is now the one that goes out hunting. And he's the one that gets the caribou. But then they all have to work together and do all the butchering, because there's not enough people to take care of the meat quick enough. (Personal communication, April 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* (Domestic Skills) is connected with *Savvaqtuliq* (Hard Work) and *Savaqatigiiyuliq* (Cooperation). Dr. John (2009) writes about preparing for a ceremony, "Family gender roles are defined in this planning process to assign duties for the multitalented members such as professional seamstress, male hunters, choreographers, and composers" (p. 148). The skills associated with the butchering, cooking, and childrearing is very hard work. The skills of providing for one's family and hunting is also hard work. Ahnaughuq talks about how the *iḷat* (family) has to work together to take care of tasks.

Throughout this *Katimarugut*, participants would still talk about *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles). In the previous conversation, Ahnaughuq mentions her sister and husband following the same roles and skills. In the following example Ugik talks about the roles of her ex-husband and current husband:

> **Asiqłuq**: And when I was growing up, my mom basically was raising us up by herself. And so with five teenage boys, they need to learn how to cook if they want to eat. [LAUGHTER] So we picked out recipes, and we learned how to cook. And at home nowadays with our family, I like to cook.

Ugik: My current husband does all the cooking. And in my first family, my ex-husband, I was the traditional cook. I would make the meals. He would barbeque, you know, that kinda stuff. But I was the cook. I was the baker. I used to bake a lot. Now with my current husband, he does all the cooking. I very rarely have to cook. On weekends, sometimes I do breakfast. I don't bake much anymore.

Ahnaughuq: Mm-hm (affirmative).

Ugik: So roles have just changed.

Ahnaughuq: Mm-hm (affirmative).

Ugik: I still have the skill to cook. I still have the skill to bake, if I feel like it…

Ahnaughuq: But it's not out of necessity or…

Ugik: He cooks almost every meal…

Ahnaughuq: …following the traditional times.

Ugik: Now if I could just get him to do the dishes. [LAUGHTER] (Personal communication, April 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* (Domestic Skills) is connected with *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles). Dr. Lewis (2009) writes, "The Elders also discussed their desire to share their knowledge through classes, or gatherings, in their community, and each community should provide a way for these Elders to share their knowledge before it is lost" (p. 92). Though the roles may have changed even within one generation, the importance of having the skills are still emphasized. Ugik has the skill to cook, if she wants to cook.

At first the participants had a hard time distinguishing *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* (Domestic Skills) from *Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles). In the *Katimarugut* (We Are Meeting) transcript, some participants would continue to list family roles rather than talk about domestic skills. One of the overall concensus was the importance of teaching various skills to the youth so that they have tools for survival.

In the next section, we share our views about *Aŋunialguliq* (Hunter Success), share how *Aŋunialguliq* was passed down to us, and share how we pass *Aŋunialguliq* down to our children.

Aŋunialguɬiq (Hunter Success)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. Qayaq hunted a beluga whale at the request of his uncle. Since there was no woman to perform the ritual of giving the whale its last drink of fresh water, the uncle poured water down its throat. After they butchered the whale, Qayaq remembered the taboos taught to him by his mother, not to waste food or allow it to spoil. So he gave the leftovers to the animals. (Brown, 1981, pp. 55-57)

In many Qayaq stories, our Iñupiaq hero hunted several animals. Qayaq would ask his uncle what he felt like eating. His uncle would reply that such and such animal would taste good, and then the animal would magically appear. Qayaq gives the beluga fresh water even though it would not be his role had there been a woman around to help him. The animal-spirits in the eco-animus witnessed how respectful Qayaq treats them, so that attributes to how successful he is as a hunter. The participants share their views about *Aŋunialguɬiq* (Hunter Success).

Uqaaqtuaŋich Aŋunialguɬiq (Personal Stories of Hunter Success)

One of the participants talked about observing her first time on a hunt. Though it was not unusual for the whole *iɬat* (family) to go out hunting during ancestral times, normally today the only ones in a hunting group are the men, though it was not uncommon to include females:

> **Ahnaughuq**: Mm-hm (affirmative). I think I remember one of the times that my dad would bring us to Shishmaref. We had to go by boat one time, just because it was cheaper. It was just because we had so much stuff. We were already three kids and two adults. One cool thing happened was while we were going from Kotzebue to Deering, we had to stop there and do a little refueling, rest a little bit, and then we all made it in one day. It was only like 7 maybe 10 hours, but we had to do like a pit stop. I remember between Deering and Shishmaref we had encountered ice floes that had walrus. And that was my only time that I would consider myself being part of a hunt, because my brother

was probably 10 or 11. So he already had some experience shooting, of course my dad taught him a little bit. I just remember my brother being old enough to be able to hunt. And so, my dad was really trying to get him to say, "Okay, which one are you going to shoot? Try to shoot at the ones that are in the middle of the ice floe, so that you don't lose them." If they all scramble, you don't shoot the one that's next to the edge. That will go in the water first, and you probably will lose it. But I just remember how exciting it was to be able to see that happen, because as a girl I never went on any hunts. My dad was a very traditional man, so he was always counting on my brother to be able to go out hunting with him. But I do remember him being able to get a walrus, and then we had to take time to cut it up. (Personal communication, May 2013)

In this quote, we see *Aŋunialguliq* (Hunter Success) is connected with *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles). Dr. Lewis (2009) writes, "How youth today are learning to hunt and subsist differs from how the Elders learned as youth, but living off the land and engaging in subsistence activities is still as important to survival as it was in the past" (p. 92). Ahnaughuq talks about being a girl and not participating in hunting. She shares how her father is teaching her brother how to aim at the right walrus. The roles in this discussion include the father has the teacher role, the brother is learning the provider role, and Ahnaughuq has butcher role.

One of our older participants talked about how he learned to hunt while growing up around Barrow. He talked about sharing what he learned with his wife:

Itqiliuraq: There're a lot of things you learn growing up. Part of the excitement of marrying [Tagalusiaq] was teaching her the reasons behind so many different things. We shoot a lot of seals along the coast. And when the fresh water is flowing out into the beginning of the bays, the seals won't float. The salinity is too low. And so you learn very early that if you want to recover your seal, you don't shoot seals along in June, along the coast like that. You go out farther where the fresh water is mixed more. Some things I can't even tell you why we did things. But once I started trapping, the old Eskimos told you, "Don't throw the carcass out of the house or it'll talk."

Ahnaughuq: Mm.

Itqiliuraq: And then I noticed that all the carcasses I ever saw thrown outside the house, like maybe over to the dog team, the throats were all slit.

Ahnaughuq: Mm.

Itqiliuraq: And so just by seeing it, I learned that. An old Eskimo watched me, or come up to the house, they'd be fox carcasses and all the throats are slit, he would know that I had been taught.

Ahnaughuq: Mm-hm (affirmative).

Itqiliuraq: I don't know, maybe the foxes were afraid they'd run back and talk or something. I don't know. [LAUGHING] But that's basically all like that. (Personal communication, May 2013)

In this conversation, we see *Aŋunialgułiq* (Hunter Success) is connected with *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature) and *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality). Many things about hunting were explained to Itqiliuraq. He was taught to observe the type of water that is best for hunting seals. Some information was not explained to him like why it is important not to discard fox carcasses without cutting the throats. One explanation available is, "This will free their spirits so they can come back again to life. Freedom of the spirit is an important concept in our society" (Gray et al., 1981, p. 47). Whether a technique or custom is explained or not, hunters are taught to respect nature.

The Iñupiaq diet changed drastically after Western contact. In ancestral times, all of our food came from our land, sea, and air. After Western contact, new foods were introduced, and one participant shared his observations:

Itqiliuraq: Sean, you can go into Barrow, and you can look at the dinner table of my generation that grew up eating Native foods in the school system. We had frozen fish or frozen reindeer for breakfast at school everyday. And then look at just the very next generation that had nothing but pilot bread and processed meats and stuff for their lunches. And that's what's on their table. But you go in the homes of my generation; we're all sitting around eating frozen fish or stuff like that. (Personal communication, May 2013)

In this quote, we see *Aŋunialguliq* (Hunter Success) is related to *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality). Dr. Lewis (2009) writes, "Food, such as subsistence foods, plays an important role in successful aging, and this was mentioned periodically as one of the main differences that keep Elders in their rural communities, regardless of the challenges" (p. 88). There is the famous phrase of unknown origin, "You are what you eat." The diet of our ancestors of food strictly from our place has a connection between nature and our *ilitqusiq* (spirit).

To be a successful hunter, one must learn everything about going out to hunt. A hunter must be intimately familiar with his surroundings for outdoor survival. One participant talked about his experience about learning how to handle a dog team and the introduction of the snowmachine:

> **Itqiliuraq**: There was a very intentional progress, progression as you progressed. Before I ever was given permission to run a dog team, I had to be able to walk and come home the distance that dog team should do it. And once I could walk out 20 miles from Barrow and come home, then I got permission to run a dog team. And so, by the time I'd run a dog team for 10 years and snowmachines came by, a lot of people got in trouble really quick. Because a dog team, you only, unless you are traveling, you'd only go 40 miles from home before you turned around and came back at night. With a snowmachine, you can do 100 miles in a morning, and all of a sudden you're really lost. You're a long ways from home. And so, that progression of switching from dog team to snowmachine was a slow process of extending yourself farther and farther and coming back and understanding what it took to do that. And it was intentional, I can tell you from Day 1. You may not been told it was intentional, but by the Elders that were teaching you, it was very intentional not to put you over your head. You weren't sent out on the ice when the ice was dangerous. When you were first allowed to go out by yourself, the ice was really safe. And as you progressed and learned and got experience, then maybe you were sent out when the ice was a little more precarious.
>
> **Tagalusiaq**: Like last night, that Alaska series we were watching, they were ice fishing near Noatak. Non-Native dad married local, like three or four kids, and the woman goes…no, the man was describing how dangerous it was, "Well, and my wife's brother

and his girlfriend died. And my mother-in-law died, and my father-in-law died. They drowned," doing what it was they were doing as far as ice. It's interesting.

Ahnaughuq: Yeah. And it is very true if you don't learn it. And sometimes you have to learn that's where it comes to reading the land, reading what the ice is doing, knowing what those signs are.

Itqiliuraq: Mm-hm (affirmative). (Personal communication, May 2013)

In this conversation, we see *Aŋunialguliq* (Hunter Success) is connected with *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature). Many people in contemporary times depend too much on technology. Elder Tommy Sagluaq Carter shares, "Nowadays young people don't know the names of places in our area. If they tell you where they are, they don't know if the name is right or wrong" (Northwest Alaska Elders, 1990, pp. 76-77). Itqiliuraq describes his firsthand experience driving a dog team and learning from the Elders. Elders know when a hunter is ready during his progress. Tagalusiaq describes how dangerous it is when you do not respect nature. Ahnaughuq reaffirms the importance of understanding the land and ice.

In contemporary times, both men and women learn how to hunt. Participants shared their personal hunting stories. One participant talked about a hunting story that happened to her sister:

Ahnaughuq: I have another hunting story. My sister, the one that's only three years younger that I am, she was with a man right after high school. But the nice thing about him was that he did go hunting, and he went after muskox, he went after dall sheep, he went after bears, he went after caribou. And he usually went up the Noatak River, 'cause that's what he grew up with from Kotzebue. And so, he would often go ahead and let my sister shoot to try to teach her how to shoot. And I remember one story that she told me about, because they had a camp up there. And so, I think they were hunting caribou or something really big, maybe it was muskox or something or caribou.

Asiqłuq: I think it was moose. I think I remember the story.

Ahnaughuq: It was moose! Okay, I think it was moose. It was something really big. And it was one of those things where they go, "Okay." She shot at it, because they had to go up the river with a boat. And they carefully went in one spot, they saw the moose, and she shot at it. But somehow she wounded it where she made it blind. She wanted to hit it

> in the head. Of course you want to hit it in the head, but she must have hit it in the wrong place, because they kind of figured out that it was still walking, but it was blind. And so, what she ended up doing…and he kept on saying, "Why don't you shoot it again?! Shoot it again!" It's like, "No." And then, she just kept on saying, "Be quiet." And so, what she ended up doing was she was waiting for the moose to get closer to the boat and near the river, so they didn't have to haul it as far. And so, she waited and waited until sure enough it got close enough. And then she shot it again. And they were able to process it right there more closer to the boat. And she said, "I was being smart. I didn't want to haul that meat." [LAUGHTER] (Personal communication, May 2013)

In this conversation, we see *Aŋunialgułiq* (Hunter Success) is related to *Atchiksuałiq* (Humility). The sister's partner was offering advice, but she successfully did it her own way. She practiced patience and anticipated the wounded animals behaviour. Her partner learned from her that day. Art Barr Cleveland from Ambler writes, "Hunter Success is providing meat for the family. Ambler was established for its hunting grounds around 1957. I've hunted for caribou a few times during the fall. It's a way for me to help out my family" (VNN, 1996). The importance for feeding one's *iḷat* (family) is exemplified throughout all of the conversations. The participants acknowledged the necessity to follow Iñupiaq protocols and beliefs when it comes to *Aŋunialgułiq* (Hunter Success), like the importance of respecting Nature and practicing humility.

Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Framework for *Iḷat* (Family)

Each Iñupiaq *iḷat* (family) has an understanding and view of our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq values). Our cultural values constantly converge with one another. For example, we see that *Iḷisimałiq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Family Tree) converges with *Kaŋiqsimauraałiq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality) when we name our children after our ancestors. We see that *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles) converges with *Savaqatigiiyułiq* (Cooperation) when one person helps another through their respective role. We see that *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children) converges with *Savaqatigiiyułiq* (Cooperation) when the whole village helps raise the children. We see that *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñiałiq* (Domestic Skills) converges with *Savvaqtułiq* (Hard Work) when teaching skills to the children until they can repeat it correctly.

We see that *Aŋunialguliq* (Hunter Success) converges with *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality) when the *iḷat* (family) treats the animal with respect. Through the discussions, participants view that *Iḷisimaliq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Family Tree), *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles), *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children), *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* (Domestic Skills), and *Aŋunialguliq* (Hunter Success) begin with the *iḷat* (family).

The participants view the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* for the *Iḷat* (Family) from their experiences with their family members. The cultural values for the *iḷat* (family) were passed down to the participants through observation and domestic situations. We pass down our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* for the *iḷat* (family) by involving our children in our experiences. Through the family stories, we see the balance of the cultural values as they converge with each topic.

In the next section, we continue our epic journey with *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat: Inner Views of Our Iñupiaq Values* by visiting the *Nunaaqqiq* (Village).

Chapter 7: *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Kaŋŋituŋa* (My Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Research) - *Nunaaqqiq* (Village)

List of Values

Aatchuqtuutiłiq Avatmun (Sharing)
Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik (Respect for Elders)
Kamakkutiłiq (Respect for Others)
Savaqatigiiyułiq (Cooperation)
Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik (Respect for Nature)
Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiłiq (Responsibility to Tribe)

For the purposes of this dissertation, the 17 *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* are distributed into the three parts of our cultural heritage: *Iñuk* (Person), *Iḷat* (Family), and *Nunaaqqiq* (Village). The Iñupiaq word for 'village, town, or city' is *nunaaqqiq*. The root word is '*nuna*' which means 'land or earth'. I chose this word for my 'community' chapter, since the word encompasses the whole community, human and non-human. I have chosen the above six values, because they have the interaction between the community and village. *Aatchuqtuutiłiq Avatmun* (Sharing) is essential in the village. Elders have a very important role in the *nunaaqqiq*, so *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders) is prevalent in the village. *Kamakkutiłiq* (Respect for Others) has interaction with those outside the family. *Savaqatigiiyułiq* (Cooperation) involves more than one person, frequently with people outside the family. Nature is part of *nunaaqqiq* (village), and as a village we must observe *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature). Iñupiat must have *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiłiq* (Responsibility to Tribe) to carry on our cultural heritage and survival. These values can also be included in *Iñuk* (Person) and *Iḷat* (Family).

We begin to look at the *nunaaqqiq* (village) by looking at our views about *Aatchuqtuutiłiq Avatmun* (Sharing), how *Aatchuqtuutiłiq Avatmun* was passed down to us, and how we pass *Aatchuqtuutiłiq Avatmun* down to our children. I would to like remind that each

indiviual will have their own interpretation of the following stories in my research, providing the reader to connect and reflect on each meaning to one's self.

Aatchuqtuutiłiq Avatmun (Sharing)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. He came upon a village, met an *Umialik*, and lived with them for a long time. The *Umialik* duplicated Qayaq's weapons that he acquired during his journey: a bow and arrows, a copper fish-spear from Otter, and a double-bladed hatchet from Hawk Family. Before the Umialik's only weapons were spears, knives, and stone hammers. Qayaq was happy to contribute the new weaponry to the village. (Oman, 1995, p. 22)

In the Qayaq story, our Iñupiaq hero shares the knowledge that he acquired on his journey. He has some things that the people in the *nunaaqqiq* (village) do not have, and he freely gives them the new technology. Sharing is a necessity, and it is a natural thing to do. Like in the stories of Qayaq, he always sets out a place whenever he goes camping. He sets out a mat waiting for visitors. Whenever a visitor would come, he would always share his food first. Even if an *iłat* (family) has very little food in their house, they would still share it with others in the *nunaaqqiq* (village). Participants share their views about *Aatchuqtuutiłiq Avatmun* (Sharing).

Uqaaqtuaŋich Aatchuqtuutiłiq Avatmun (Personal Stories of Sharing)

Participants talked about how sharing in small groups contributes to the importance of sharing with the whole *nunaaqqiq* (village)*:*

> **Itqiliuraq**: I think just within our Pavva group, the sharing of *maktak* and fish and oil and stuff. It's just a micro of our whole culture of sharing and responsibility. I feel a responsibility of sharing what I get. And that comes from responsibility to our culture. We've been taught that. That's been shared with us since we were babies, and we

watched it and observed it. Now you feel good that you can be part of it. (Personal communication, August 2012)

Itqiliuraq associates *Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun* (Sharing) with *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiliq* (Responsibility to Tribe). He uses the word 'responsibility' twice in his discussion. *Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun* is prevalent throughout our lives, from infancy to elderly.

At the *Katimarugut*, participants talked about *Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun* (Sharing) during ancestral times. We continue to share during times of need, when bartering for other goods, and to help each other:

Kaman: Well, I think the origin of Sharing being an Iñupiaq Value is that everybody's good at different things. So if I get a caribou and you get some salmon, we share with each other, instead of I don't just have caribou. You have salmon and I have caribou. We share. And [Ugik] goes and picks the berries. And we have salmon and caribou and berries instead of just having one thing.

Ahnaughuq: I think in times of need, sharing was an important trait within a village, because if someone was able to help others, that they would eventually probably will get help from other families, from one family to another. And being such a close-knit family, a lot of the relatives lived in the same household. So if they can help each other, that's how they would share. And I think it's also in Respect for Elders, it's pretty closely related. You want to be able to help your Elders, as they have the knowledge that can help you survive. (Personal communication, May 2013)

During another part of the *Katimarugut*, one of the participants received a phone call and stepped out of the room. He returned to explain the relevance the call had with the topic at hand:

Itqiliuraq: That phone call a few minutes ago was from Mumiġana in Anaktuvuk, and the Hopson boys got a number of caribou yesterday and brought them one and a half. And he was calling to tell us that our part is over at Sophie's that we're supposed to go get some.

Ahnaughuq: Mm.

Itqiliuraq: And that's how fast this Sharing goes like that. And Anaktuvuk can't get seal oil or seal, but we send seal oil to them and stuff, 'cause they like it just as much. (Personal communication, May 2013)

In these conversations, we see that *Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun* (Sharing) is connected with *Savaqatigiiyuliq* (Cooperation) and *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders). Yup'ik Elders and Kamerling state, "The people are never stingy. As long as they have food, they won't let anyone starve" (as cited in John, 2009, p. 76). Kaman talks about cooperating with each other to gather various foods. Some foods are not available in certain areas, so trading and sharing is very commonplace. Ahnaughuq states the importance of helping our Elders and other families in the *nunaaqqiq*.

Sharing food and other materials is important. Participants also talked about shared intangible things such as knowledge and other metaphysical items:

Itqiliuraq: Well, if it wasn't for sharing, we wouldn't have any of our Indigenous knowledge. And the word out of Sharing is 'teaching'. You teach, you share what you have. And when I use more of anyone else's knowledge, it's nothing if you don't share it. What good is knowledge if you don't share it? (Personal communication, May 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun* (Sharing) is connected with *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* (Domestic Skills). The concept of sharing that Itqiliuraq states parallels to way Tuulik shares the Eagle-Wolf Dance with his and neighboring communities (Kakaruk & Oquilluk, 1964). Skills come from the knowledge of our ancestors. These skills have been shared for generations. Through sharing, Iñupiat continue to adapt and learn new skills while maintaining the knowledge of our Elders.

Another intangible item is time. The participants talked about how time is important to share with children, Elders, and others:

Ahnaughuq: I guess that would lead to being able to share time together. And I think with these meetings that we're having here, we're being able to share time with [Asiqłuq] and his research on these Native Values.

Itqiliuraq: Mm-hm (affirmative).

Ahnaughuq: One thing that I found that growing up, my parents would try to encourage me to share some time with my grandmother, because they knew that I would be able to learn something from her and being able to maybe help her if she needed something. But it was also being able to share time together. And I think that was a very important factor. (Personal communication, May 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun* (Sharing) is connected with *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children) and *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders). Our Elders have multigenerational knowledge and experiences about our cultural heritage. Our children and their descendants will continue to carry on our traditions. Participants feel the more time that our Elders and children share together, the stronger our heritage will be lived.

Dancing is another intangible knowledge that is shared. Iñupiaq dancing is performed in the *nunaaqqiq* (village) at various events. Kakaruk and Oquilluk (1964) write about the importance of sharing dances between villages and sharing them with descendants. We talk about sharing this knowledge:

Asiqłuq: With *Kivgiq* (Messenger Feast), one of the reasons for doing *Kivgiq* is to share songs so that you can learn a song from your neighboring village or from somebody who's visiting. Like what we've done with Te Vaka[11]. We learned one of their songs, and we taught them one of ours. Once we've shared that way, we build that connection between each other. It reminds us that have that connection with the people who visited. (Personal communication, May 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun* (Sharing) is related to *Kamakkutiliq* (Respect for Others). *Kivgiq* is just one example of a celebration that continues today all over the Iñupiaq region, with dance festivals in the North Slope, Northwest Alaska, and Seward Peninsula. Dr. Kingston (1999) writes, "Wolf Dance was performed to promote a 'bond of friendship between distant settlements'. In other words, a dance to promote friendly relations would logically be shared between settlements who enjoyed a trading relationship" (p. 28). We share our dances with visitors from other countries as our ancestors shared with other villages.

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[11] Te Vaka is a Māori and Polynesian dance group who performs internationally.

During *Kivgiq* in Barrow, gifts are exchanged between the residents and visitors. Gift giving is fairly common among Indigenous groups worldwide. One participant shared his views about this type of sharing:

> **Itqiliuraq**: Oh, one thing, the difference between sharing at *Kivgiq*, we give gifts. But a lot of those gifts are given with an expectation that you will also receive something eventually. But in Sharing, you give that without any expectation of something coming back to you. That's a total different way. I mean you take the heart or something from a caribou to your *Aaka*. You don't expect *Aaka* to someday bring you a heart. She might invite you over for dinner, but you're not doing it expecting something in return. (Personal communication, May 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun* (Sharing) is connected with *Atchiksualiq* (Humility). Dr. John (2009) writes:

> The essential Indigenous context and purpose of the annual dance festivals, organized and managed by the local residents, represents an ancient event that bonded everyone together to celebrate in sharing and exchanging their historical and contemporary dance rituals and gift exchanges in the way their ancestors have practiced for many years before them. (p. 95)

Itqiliuraq states sharing can be without reciprocation. For one to share without expectations demonstrates a great deal of humility.

Nalukataq is the word for 'blanket toss.' *Nalukataq* is also a celebration after a crew successfully catches a whale. The whale is distributed to the whole village:

> **Itqiliuraq**: Right now, all along the coast is whaling. And that is the basis of the respect that a whale gives itself to the hunter or to the village. And the Sharing is probably the part of our culture that holds us together that tied us. They get a whale out in Gambell, Savoonga. We have whale meat in Fairbanks within a couple days. And we share it amongst ourselves here. It's really the time of the year that's sharing. That's what *Nalukataq* is all about, is the hunter and the crew share all the whale with the village at that time.
>
> **Ahnaughuq**: So it can deal with Hunter Success, too, in a way.

Ugik: A lot of our values intertwine or are covered by each other.

Kaman: And a large part of that is a whaling captain can't go out there on a boat by himself. He has the whole crew. And they have the other boats help bring the whale back to the shore. Everybody in the whole village goes out to the beach and helps bring up the whale and cut it up. (Personal communication, May 2013)

In this discussion, we see that *Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun* (Sharing) is intertwined with *Aŋunialguliq* (Hunter Success) and *Savaqatigiiyuliq* (Cooperation). Dr. Counceller (2010) writes, "Alutiiq culture also comes with a responsibility to share that food with others, particularly the sick and elderly, as well as to leave enough for future gathering" (p. 78). Like the Alutiiq, the Iñupiat share the food with others after a successful hunt, whether it is a large animal like a whale or it is a small one like a duck. It takes a whole *nunaaqqiq* (village) to cooperate and distribute large animals.

Participants talked about sharing with families around the village, with other villages, and with our non-human relatives who are part of our *nunaaqqiq*:

Akukqasuq: After you skin and cut up your hunt, I remember hearing that some people leave meat for the animals around. After he gets everything he needs, he just leaves meat for the rest of the animals and sharing his kill.

Asiqłuq: Sharing with Nature.

Akukqasuq: Mm-hm (affirmative).

Ahnaughuq: Mm-hm (affirmative). I even see that in berrypicking. In berrypicking, I go often with my friend Denise. She says, "Don't pick them all, because we got to leave some for the ptarmigan. We got to leave some for the mice out there." (Personal communication, May 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun* (Sharing) is connected with *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature). In one of the Qayaq stories, he gives the leftovers to the animals (Brown, 1981, pp. 55-57). Akukqasuq and Ahnaughuq remember to share with animals in nature around them. This discussion involving nature demonstrates how we associate animals as part of our *nunaaqqiq*.

In the next section, we share our views about *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders), share how *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* was passed down to us, and share how we pass *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* down to our children.

Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik (Respect for Elders)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. He encountered an *Aŋatquq* (Shaman) who wanted to try to kill Qayaq. A grandson and grandmother let Qayaq sleep in their home. She gave him a sewing bead and told him to swallow it and the magical *akutuq* from his mothers. The next day Qayaq was able to avoid being killed by the *Aŋatquq* and his two sons, and he never tried to kill his adversaries. The grandson took Qayaq back to the grandmother, and she praised Qayaq for his discipline. The grandson did not know she was watching the fight, but she was there by the entrance. She patted Qayaq on the back, the bead came up to his mouth, and it was returned to the grandmother. (Oman, 1995, pp. 101-104)

In this Qayaq story, the grandmother helps Qayaq survive an attack. She also watches the fight. Elders are very observant. When one thinks that an Elder is not paying attention, this is usually not the case. An Elder is a leader who gives advice and has life experiences. Dr. Lewis (2009) writes, "Another characteristic that distinguishes Elders from other elderly people is their leadership skills, which includes leading by example and sharing their knowledge with the younger generations" (p. 76). When an Elder witnesses good behavior or deeds, that Elder usually offers praise. Participants share their views about *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders).

Uqaaqtuaŋich Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik (Personal Stories of Respect for Elders)

There is a difference between being elderly and being an Elder. Participants talked about what makes someone an Elder:

Aviŋŋaq: I had a question. You know, when we're doing things, we talk about the Elders sit here, the Elders do this. And I said, "Well, how old you have to be to be an Elder? What do you have to do?" You know. And nobody has an answer. That's interesting. So I was wondering what you guys thought.

Asiqłuq: "What is an Elder?" It's different for each community. It's different for each family. And it's different for each individual, too. Elderly doesn't make you an Elder.

Ahnaughuq: Mm-hm (affirmative).

Asiqłuq: Yeah, and you know like Ramona, she never wanted to be called an Elder. She wanted to be a Cultural Bearer, even though she was a great-grandmother. (Personal communication, October 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders) is related to *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality). Participants shared that an Elder is someone who is recognized and respected by the *nunaaqqiq* (village). An Elder is never a self-appointment, but it can be a self-realization. An Elder has life experiences and multigenerational knowledge, and is willing to share with the others. In his dissertation, Dr. Lewis (2009) defines Elders from an Unangan (Aleut) perspective:

> This concept is defined as anyone who is considered an "Elder" by their community. This includes those who have lived a traditional lifestyle, experienced hardships in life, live a clean and healthy life, and continue to pass on their traditional knowledge, stories, and skills to the younger generations. This concept also includes role models, silent leaders, and acquiring wisdom, which are seen as characteristics of being an Elder. (p. 176)

The participants uphold this definition in their own conversation about defining an Elder. Participants talked about Elders having life experiences and surviving for a long time. They also talked about Elders being active in their communities and continuing to contribute to well-being of the *nunaaqqiq* (village).

During the *Aŋunialguliq* (Hunter Success) *Katimarugut*, one of the participants shared about her brother's experience catching his first walrus:

Ahnaughuq: But it was exciting. And as him being successful and being able to land one of the walrus, he was of course be able to show respect to his Elders, he gave a lot of it

away. As soon as we came into the village, he was able to give it to the Elders that were there, especially our grandmother. (Personal communication, May 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders) is connected with *Aŋunialguḷiq* (Hunter Success). One of our old beliefs is, "Whenever a young boy catches his first animal through his own efforts, he must give it away to all of the people" (Gray et al., 1981, p. 23). This Iñupiaq custom still continues in contemporary times. We not only provide food to our Elders, we also give reassurance to our Elders that our traditions will continue.

I give the participants the option of choosing which *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* to talk about during *Katimarugut*. One participant felt compelled to pick *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* after finding information about her grandparents:

Ugik: Well, I suggested this topic, because I was cleaning out my desk at work. And I found this "Wall of Honor" that my grandparent and two of my uncles and one of my aunts is on. And it's where they took photos of Elders in the village of Deering and put them in the school of Deering as a Respect for Elders thing for that village. And also because we just lost our cultural bearer Ramona. Also I thought that was a good timing to talk about Respect for Elders. So in this "Wall of Honor" there's a photo of my *Ataata* Evans Karmun, and my uncle Richard, and my aunt Brenda, and my uncle Charlie all in big photographs in this gym. And I just thought that was pretty cool.

Ahnaughuq: Mm-hm (affirmative). Yep. I notice the article says that there's already completed and installed murals that are similar in Noatak and few other places. And looks like Akiak, Akiachak, Tuluksak, and Noatak. And once I saw Noatak, I was going, "Yeah, I remember that," because that's when I saw my own *Ahna* and *Ataata* on the mural in the new Noatak school that just got completed. And I went for my *Ahna's* funeral I want to say in 2008. So it was really neat seeing her picture up there, 'cause it was the village that was deciding which of the people they wanted to honor, and they wanted to honor all their Elders. I found that very exciting. And I must have taken like eight pictures to go across the wall, 'cause it was in the huge part of the gym in the new school. But yeah, when I think about Respect for Elders, I think recognizing them in a permanent way throughout the community is a good way to recognize them and give

respect to them, because they have worked so hard and lived long lives and contributed to the wellness of the village. And so, I think that's a great way to do it. (Personal communication, October 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders) is connected with *Savvaqtuḷiq* (Hard Work) and *Iḷisimaḷiq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Family Tree). Ugik and Ahnaughuq have their grandparents' photo on the school's wall. As long as the mural remains in the school, their children and grandchildren will continue to see the photos and be reminded of their genealogy.

Participants talked about respecting all Elders including those who may not be related to them. *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders) was taught to always help all Elders by their parents to the participants:

Ahnaughuq: I remember another Elder that I visited; well my mom and I were walking on Front Street. It was when the ice was breaking up, and you hear the *shhhhhh*. All the icicles, like how the ice broke up in front of Kotzebue, it's the Kobuk River or the Kobuk Lake having fresh ice come out. And it only happens for, I don't know less than a week when it actually happens. And there was an Elder that was outside her house, and she's trying to drag a bucket out to the water. And my mom saw that and said, "Here, let my daughter help." And I went ahead and gathered icicles for her, or part of the fresh ice water so she can have ice water in her house. We always said it always taste better than city tap water.

Asiqłuq: That's one thing that you and I as parents have passed down to our children. It's like whenever we see an Elder, we volunteer our sons to go help out. And now they go willingly, and they see it, and they go and do it on their own which I think is really a beautiful thing. (Personal communication, October 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders) is connected with *Savaqatigiiyuḷiq* (Cooperation). Our parents have taught us to help those in need. Elder Helen Aġnatchiaq Seveck shares, "One of the things my parents taught me when I was growing up was that I should go help elders if I saw them carrying anything…My parents always taught us to help anyone who needed help" (Northwest Alaska Elders, 1990, pp. 38-39). When we

encourage our youth to interact with Elders, we are attempting to engage our youth to build healthy relationships with our Elders and to learn from them. Ahnaughuq learned through cooperating with her Elders that the fresh ice is better tasting than city water.

> The participants concluded the *Katimarugut* with their views of Elders in the *nunaaqqiq*:
>
> **Kaman**: You were talking about being adopted by an Elder. I noticed in the village that any little kid who comes into your house that's their…your grandkids call you *Aana* and *Ataata*. And these other kids start calling you *Aana* and *Ataata*. And you treat them like your own grandkids.
>
> **Ahnaughuq**: Mm-hm (affirmative).
>
> **Kaman**: And they make connections with all of the kids, because they realize that this isn't really my biological grandchild, but we live in the same village. We're all related, and we all have to work together to get all of these little kids to where they need to be in their life. (Personal communication, October 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders) is related to *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children) and *Kamakkutiḷiq* (Respect for Others). Children are treated as one's own grandchildren. Elders watch over the children. There is respect for other children, which is reciprocated when the children call them with kinship terms.

I want to highlight a very inspirational Elder, Minnie Aliitchak Gray. "Minnie Gray is one of the best-known and most highly respected Iñupiaq elders in Northwest Alaska" (Gray, 2007, p. 133). She was involved with developing two Iñupiaq dictionaries as well as other publications. She was intimately involved with the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* Spirit Movement program when it first began, with the bilingual programs, and taught the Iñupiaq language. She is well respected among the Iñupiat and others. I met Minnie through her incredible work throughout the Iñupiaq region with the Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative. I remember when she came to Fairbanks for the Elders and Youth Conference. She encouraged our dance group to continue.

Another Elder I want to highlight is my Aunt Sara Tweet. She has supported me throughout my life, and has really helped me after my parents died. Since she is from the area of my ancestors, I continue to learn about our cultural heritage through her. When I became a grandfather, I asked her how our ancestors designated our kinship term. *Avauraq* (my spelling

from what I heard is the word for 'grandfather') is not a term widely used anymore. I am reclaiming that nomenclature, respecting my Elder for sharing her knowledge.

In the next section, we share our views about *Kamakkutiliq* (Respect for Others), share how *Kamakkutiliq* was passed down to us, and share how we pass *Kamakkutiliq* down to our children.

Kamakkutiliq (Respect for Others)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. Whenever Qayaq set up camp, he always prepared a place for visitors. It was his custom to set a place and offer his rations to others, which he encountered so many of them. (Northwest Alaska Elders, 1991, pp. 36-37)

Throughout all of the Qayaq stories, our Iñupiaq hero encounters various people, animals, and magical beings. In the story of Qayaq and other old stories, our Elders tell us the first thing we do for the visitor is feed them. We give them food to welcome them and make sure they have eaten because they have traveled. Qayaq does that in all of his travels. Whenever he set up camp, he always set out a place for somebody, whoever is visiting, and always saved some food just in case somebody came and visited. When I was growing up, the first thing my parents would do whenever somebody came to visit was offer them coffee. So that is one of the things that I do whenever somebody visits. Participants share their views about *Kamakkutiliq* (Respect for Others).

Uqaaqtuanich Kamakkutiliq (Personal Stories of Respect for Others)

As I have mentioned in Chapter 3, before our *Kamakkutiliq* (Respect for Others) *Katimarugut*, we watched videos that are part of the Iñupiaq Language Workshop in January 2011 (ANKN, n.d.-b). The videos have Iñupiaq language experts talking about some artifacts in the Anchorage Museum collection. The language experts represented are from the North Slope,

Nunamiut, Kobuk, Qawiaraq, and King Island dialects. After the presentation, participants talked about how it relates to *Kamakkutiłiq* (Respect for Others):

> **Asiqłuq**: We just got done watching the language videos. But in those videos, they had different types of Iñupiaq people. And I think for me, respecting others is also respecting the different types and respecting that there are differences in the dialects. (Personal communication, April 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Kamakkutiłiq* (Respect for Others) is connected with *Iḷisimałiq Uqapiałiġmik* (Knowledge of Language). Dr. Kingston (1999) writes, "Part of the confusion arises from linguistic variants of various terms such as *nigla* and *niliga* which have the same meaning but are from different dialects" (p. 69). There is no one way of speaking Iñupiaq. A word or phrase may be spoken differently in another dialect. Therefore, respecting how another person speaks connects the two cultural values.

Participants talked about *Kamakkutiłiq* (Respect for Others) during ancestral times. Our ancestors showed respect for others by working together:

> **Kaman**: Respect for Others is an important cultural value, because everybody has a different role, everybody has different talents and different abilities. And you have to understand that just because somebody's different from you, they can still be equal. And in a village situation long time ago everybody had to work together. And everybody had different community roles and family roles. And everybody made a contribution even though they had different talents and different abilities, and they were still an important part of the group. (Personal communication, April 2013)

In this short quote, we see that *Kamakkutiłiq* (Respect for Others) is related to *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles), *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* (Domestic Skills), and *Savaqatigiiyułiq* (Cooperation). Kaman states that everyone had a role. He also mentions that everyone had different skills. Lastly, he shares that everyone had to work together in the *nunaaqqiq* (village).

The view that Kaman shared still applies to contemporary times. People have different roles and skills, and we have to cooperate to show our respect toward each other. One of the participants talked about how it relates to the present day:

Ahnaughuq: Well, picking up on what [Kaman] said a long time ago in the villages, well it's still kind of like that today, when you still had to respect other families in the village. And I know sometimes you just can't go and bad mouth somebody in front of other people for a situation that they couldn't help. I know just from experiences of listening to my dad and being able to understand. There are still some invisible boundaries in the village, just because some families don't get along, but they still have to respect kind of each other in a way, because in times of when they all get together at the major events of the village they still have to be able to respect each other, be able to live amongst each other. And they know that as they help this family out, later on they themselves might need help, and they understand that. It's just a way of being able to help each other survive. (Personal communication, April 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Kamakkutiliq* (Respect for Others) is related to *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* (Avoid Conflict). Ahnaughuq shares the importance of respecting others in the *nunaaqqiq* (village) by avoiding conflict. Even though there may be tension between people, for the sake of the *nunaaqqiq* (village) and one's own survival, they still need to show respect toward each other.

Many years ago, a non-Native colleague shared with me a conversation with another Native person that deeply disturbed her. The conversation took place during a dance presentation. While the two were watching the performance, the Native person asked the non-Native person, "What does it feel like not to have a culture?" The non-Native person was conflicted and disturbed that it was assumed that she did not have a culture. The participants talked about this concept:

Ugik: In this class I just took, Respecting Ethnic and Cultural Heritage, it was a class full of teachers and principals and I think there was two of us support staff in the class. And we learned to look at things from different perspectives; seeing that everybody has culture even if they don't know that they have culture. They have culture; they just don't know exactly what it is maybe. So that was one of the things, respect everybody's culture, because everybody has some kind of culture. (Personal communication, April 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Kamakkutiliq* (Respect for Others) is connected with *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality). Everybody has a cultural heritage (Topkok, 2014). It is part of their *ilitqusiq* (spirit). It is not only important to acknowledge that others have a cultural heritage, but it is also important to respect everyone's cultural background and ways of celebrating who they are.

Participants talked about teaching the children the value of *Kamakkutiliq* (Respect for Others). Our children have much more exposure to other cultural groups compared to our ancestors. They see other cultures on the television and through the internet. Our ancestors traveled by foot, dog team, and boats. Nowadays people can also travel in and out of a *nunaaqqiq* (village) by plane and snowmachine. Our children have many opportunities to learn about other cultural groups:

> **Ahnaughuq**: Yeah, I think times have changed since when we were little in a way. Of course I think there's more technology. I think our kids get more exposure from different types of people. And I think sometimes, depending on the situation, when they see a person, they respect them by not making fun of them, because they realize they're just a different person, especially when there's more and more people that have different ways of expressing themselves, like their hair. Like me, it's my tattoo on my face. And it's getting to be, especially now the big thing is the piercings on your eyebrow, you know, there's different things of expressing yourself, and it's getting more and more popular. And then you just kinda accept the person that you see, you just met, as they are and not judge them. So I guess in a way, Respect for Others is also not holding a judge over them, when you talk with them, and just kinda accept them as another human being. And they just have some differences, and you don't have to worry about those differences, you just treat them as another human being that just has another way of thinking. (Personal communication, April 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Kamakkutiliq* (Respect for Others) is connected with *Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun* (Sharing). Cultural expression is a way of sharing one's heritage. The Iñupiaq women would get *tavluġun* (chin tattoo) when they reach a marriagable age. The Iñupiaq men would get *tuutaq* (labret) when they became a hunter. Other cultural groups have their own

ways of cultural expression, a way of sharing. Since the children have exposure to other peoples, there seems to be more tolerance and respect toward the way groups express themselves.

With the increased exposure to other cultural groups, the participants talked about our own views when encountering others:

> **Asiqłuq**: For me, the 'Others' are not people that are from other cultural backgrounds or other Iñupiat. It also means people with other religious views. That's why I'm not offended when somebody says, "Happy Holidays!" Not everyone is a Christian. You can respect other religions. And also respect other sexual orientations, too. I really have a lot of gay and lesbian friends. So this goes beyond many boundaries, and we got to keep that in mind. (Personal communication, April 2013)

We see that *Kamakkutiłiq* (Respect for Others) is connected with *Paaqsaaqatautaiłiq* (Avoid Conflict). If we show conflict or offense toward another's religion or orientation, that is not showing respect. When anyone attempts to convert someone else into his or her religion, it is another way of perpetuating assimilation. Personally, I feel conflicted with any type of assimilation, and therefore show respect toward others by avoiding that conflict.

Participants continued the discussion about *Kamakkutiłiq* (Respect for Others) in regards to assimilation. In contemporary times, there seems to be less attempt to "beat the Native" out of children. Many of those who did not learn their cultural heritage(s) are now learning and celebrating who they are:

> **Kaman**: Back then everyone was trying to be the same. That was just the way the national culture was. And now it's like you can embrace your own background and still be American.
>
> **Asiqłuq**: So Respecting Others is respecting all of your cultural heritages, who you are, and celebrating those. So respect the other from within. (Personal communication, April 2013)

In this conversation, we see that *Kamakkutiłiq* (Respect for Others) is connected with *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality). In the recent past, children felt a certain shame for being *Naluaġmiuyaaq* (part White), *Taaqsupaiyaaq* (part Black), or part any other cultural group. To observe the Iñupiaq value *Kamakkutiłiq* (Respect for Others), one must not feel shame

about one's *ilitqusiq* (spirit) but feel respect the 'other' from within. I have friends with different shades, different cultural heritages, different sexual orientations, different religions, different political views, and living in different parts of the world. There is at least one thing that we all have in common; we respect one another. As long as that respect is honored, it is reciprocated.

In the next section, we share our views about *Savaqatigiiyuliq* (Cooperation), share how *Savaqatigiiyuliq* was passed down to us, and share how we pass *Savaqatigiiyuliq* down to our children.

Savaqatigiiyuliq (Cooperation)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. He came upon a village, hid to observe, and saw several families living there. Whenever someone caught an animal, the whole families would help butcher and share it. Qayaq liked how the villagers helped each other and lived with them for a long time. (Northwest Alaska Elders, 1991, pp. 68-69)

In the Qayaq story, our Iñupiaq hero recognizes the value of cooperation. He waits to see how the *nunaaqqiq* (village) works together before living with them. Many times we find support from our friends and community. Since much of our relationships are based on reciprocity, we in turn support our friends and community. Participants share their views about *Savaqatigiiyuliq* (Cooperation).

Uqaaqtuaŋich Savaqatigiiyuliq (Personal Stories of Cooperation)

Participants talked about their experiences while growing up. One person who grew up in a rural village cooperated with her sibling so that they could get hidden treats:

> **Ahnaughuq**: Well, I can tell an example of Cooperation that really sticks out in my mind. It's when I was little. And there is only one-year difference between me and my younger brother. And later on, when I got older, they said that both me and my younger

brother would do a lot of Cooperation together. Especially when we were living in an apartment, and they put the candy or cookies up in the closet where it's high enough that we couldn't reach it. And we would be working together, stacking suitcases up to go get them. It was one of the funniest things I do remember growing up, that's Cooperation when the two siblings are close together; that we worked together. (Personal communication, November 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Savaqatigiiyuliq* (Cooperation) is connected with *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles). The roles of siblings vary from household to household. In this situation, the siblings chose the role of helpers to acquire the treats. The helping roles continue with Ahnaughuq sending dry goods to the rural village to her family.

An Elder participant shared his experience growing up in a rural village. He continues to witness how the whole *nunaaqqiq* (village) works together to harvest a whale. He also shared his observation about rock formations and cooperation:

Itqiliuraq: When I think of Cooperation, it's one of our cultural value systems. On the Slope or out of Barrow, the coastal villages whale hunting to everyone. No one crew ever harvested a whale and got it back to the ice and up and cut by itself. From the time the captain decided where they'd cut the path out on the ice to get the boats out, to cooperating as to how to distribute the camps. And then someone get a whale, it took all the boats to…when back when we paddled instead of using outboards, it would take all the boats. So we'd come together and tow that whale back to the ice. And then the whole village would go out there. And it'd take everybody. Not so much as kids, but all the adult women, men, teenagers. We'd run that block and tackle sometimes, eight of them back and forth to get enough power to pull a whale up on top of the ice. If you go in the Nunamiut, and you've ever spent much time basically east of Anaktuvuk, you see the *iñuksuks*[12], the rock piles that was piled up. The effort even just to build those have always impressed me. One guy didn't walk out there and build all those *iñuksuks*. Then it did take the whole village, everybody that they could get together to drive the caribou in between these rock statues and into the lake. And then it was complete Cooperation. Not

[12] An *iñuksuk* is a rock formation to resemble a human. The word translates to 'rock person'.

everybody was out there stabbing caribou. Some were towing them back to the beach; and women were cutting them and men were lifting the heavy stuff. And it just amazed you without hearing commands how that Cooperation had developed over many, many years of making it work. (Personal communication, November 2012)

As the *Katimarugut* continued, participants returned to the topic of cooperation, survival, and hard work:

Kaman: Well, as a cultural value, Cooperation is needed just to stay alive in the wintertime. Like living out in a village, one person all by himself or herself can't do everything. You all have to work together. Somebody's out hunting, and somebody else is getting firewood. And somebody's getting seal on the ice, and somebody's going up in the hills and getting caribou. So it's like everybody needs to help each other, because they can't do everything all by themselves. So it came down to the actual survival of the group of people. They all had to work together just to keep each other alive.

Ahnaughuq: Mm-hm (affirmative). Yeah. I think it's the term 'reciprocity'. I think once you've helped somebody and you cooperate with them one time, later on you might need help from somebody else; and they might return the favor, because they'll remember. Whoever's boat it is or whoever's gun is being used, that they have a way of being able to help each other.

Aviŋŋaq: That's what I role model and talk to my children about. And now that they are grown and make choices on their own, they do that, their friends and even their friends' friends and further on. Hopefully, the older they get, the more they'll just do it for anybody. (Personal communication, November 2012)

In these conversations, we see that *Savaqatigiiyuliq* (Cooperation) is connected with *Aŋunialguliq* (Hunter Success), *Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun* (Sharing) and *Savvaqtuliq* (Hard Work). Itqiliuraq talks about whaling in a community. A whale is a big animal. The Iñupiat still depend on subsistence food to survive. It takes the cooperation of the whole community, planning and utilizing our *Kiŋunigmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* (Domestic Skills)to haul the whale to the *nunaaqqiq*, and the whale is distributed to all of the people. According to Itqiliuraq, there are several *iñuksuit* (plural for *iñuksuk*) near Anaktuvuk Pass, and their use is much like the use of a

scarecrow. The many *iñuksuit* help drive the *tuttu* (caribou) to a certain place where hunters wait. It took cooperation to build all of those *iñuksuit.* Kaman reiterates the importance of cooperating for survival and sharing various types of food with one another. Ahnaughuq talks about how cooperation involves reciprocity. Later participants talked about help others without expecting anything in return. Aviŋŋaq talks about teaching cooperation to her children. In the unaltered excerpt from the latter three participants, we hear them discussing the past, present, and future in a short amount of time.

It is the older and experienced hunter's role and responsibility to teach the young hunters. In contemporary times, it can be very expensive to go out hunting. The price of fuel, maintenance for the boat, ammunition, and other factors are expenses needed to get food for one's family and village. One participant talked about her father getting cooperation from young hunters:

> **Ahnaughuq**: My dad, since he's moved back to Shishmaref since '98. And he's always gone back to Shishmaref as a fall hunt or spring hunt. And so, he always got help just from cousin's sons, cousins themselves. And now he's older, he's in his late 60s. He still tries to get out. And now a lot of the responsibility of hunting seals has fallen to my sister's husband or caribou hunting. And that's Cooperation when they have to get a few other people in the boat, because they know they can't do it alone either. (Personal communication, November 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Savaqatigiiyuɬiq* (Cooperation) is connected with *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñiaɬiq* (Domestic Skills) and *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles). According to Ahnaughuq, her father is able to exchange labor and costs for the knowledge and skills he shares with them. The Elder's son-in-law is inheriting the role of the hunter for his family and his in-laws. As the son-in-law grows older, he will eventually become an Elder and get cooperation from young hunters in exchange for skills. This cycle will continue.

Participants talked about the Native games at the World Eskimo-Indian Olympics (WEIO) and the Native Youth Olympics (NYO). They observed how the athletes help each other during the events, giving encouragement and congratulations throughout the competitions. The origin of the games were explained:

Itqiliuraq: The actual idea behind the games is really the old way of building up strength in your community to cooperate. Truthfully, we were never in competition to win a trophy. As we learn the high kick or anything, those were all skills that we were going to use typically on the ice. Jumping a crack or any number of…the carry came from carrying a kayak by yourself. It's all arm strength carrying one of those. So it was never originally…what we're trying to keep a hold of is that these were real skills men and women obtained. But they weren't doing it in competition. They were doing it as a survival, to be better. And so if you saw a way of helping someone jump farther, run faster, pull stronger, whatever it may be, it was very quickly offered. It wasn't held back. And so when I see it in the games, I see at least that we're still holding some of that type of Cooperation, some of that sharing. (Personal communication, November 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Savaqatigiiyuliq* (Cooperation) is connected with *Kiŋunigmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* (Domestic Skills) and *Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun* (Sharing). Athletes cooperate with each other to improve on their skills. In many non-Native sports, competitiveness is highly prcticed and encouraged. With many Alaska Native groups, advice is freely given and received. For the most part, the WEIO and NYO athletes are not egotistical or self-absorbed but cooperative and benevolent.

Participants continued to talk about the WEIO and NYO events. They talked about how the audience members contribute to cooperation during the games and competition:

Ahnaughuq: But I still think it was also a way of bringing everybody together. Because in today's world we don't have…I mean if we look at the times that major events that we have in our city, we do want to get together more often, because we are so sparse and far apart from each other. And we have our busy lives to think about. But it's still a way of, like [Itqiliuraq] said, is being able to keep that spirit.

Itqiliuraq: Well, it's tough. Anything we do that reminds us of the unity, cooperation, I think is advantageous. It's hard in today's society to put six, seven, eight year old kids in a situation where the parents and grandparents are all sitting up and watching them and cheering for them. And where when I was a kid, when we were five years old doing high kicks this high off the ground [motioning a height]. All the Elders would be sitting

around and everybody would know that you attempted. Nobody ever said, "You won," or "You kicked it the highest." Everybody's congratulated you. You're out there jumping or kicking or showing off your parka. And it's hard to reproduce that today. (Personal communication, November 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Savaqatigiiyuɬiq* (Cooperation) is connected with *Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik* (Love for Children). Cooperation is encouraged among the athletes. The audience members also encourage cooperation by participating through the athletes' prompts to cheer. Applause and support is priceless to children when attempting new and difficult things. It is the love for the children that inspires us to cooperate.

The last discussion we had was an experience a participant wanted to share. Phillips Field Road is not a highly traveled road, considered an industrial area near the railroad yard in Fairbanks:

Ahnaughuq: I keep thinking about the one time, where it was like this. I was going home, and it was 20 below. And there was a lady that was walking on Phillips Field Road, and I happened to be taking that route. And she was carrying a baby, and she had two little kids in tow. And she was trying to go get gas, because her car ran out. And I felt so bad. And I happened to have a car seat. And I called up [Asiqłuq], and I said, "I need to stop! I'm on my way home, but I need to stop! There's someone that needs help." And I told him why. And then I went ahead and got the two kids in the car and her. And we were able to strap everybody in. (Personal communication, November 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Savaqatigiiyuɬiq* (Cooperation) is connected with *Atchiksuaɬiq* (Humility). There are some times that we need to accept help from others. Several years ago my brother and I were driving from Anchorage to Fairbanks. We spotted a single mother who had a flat tire. We stopped and changed her tire. Cooperation includes helping others in times of need.

In the next section, we share our views about *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature), share how *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* was passed down to us, and share how we pass *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* down to our children.

Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik (Respect for Nature)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. Qayaq took a red fox as his wife and waited for the Koyukuk River to stop flooding. After the flood receded, he let his wife return to her family and continued his journey. He met and picked up his uncle and fed him. They both spotted a man making wood chips that turn into fish. They thanked the man for making fish. (Brown, 1981, pp. 42-43; Northwest Alaska Elders, 1991, pp.116-117)

In the Qayaq story, our Iñupiaq hero observes nature. He can travel only when nature allows him. He and his uncle witness and thank the man who was making fish. We need to show gratitude toward nature for its bounty, respect nature for it cannot be controlled, and learn from nature for it holds many lessons. Participants share their stories about *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature).

Uqaaqtuaŋich Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik (Personal Stories of Respect for Nature)

During the *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature) *Katimarugut*, participants started talking about the 'natural law.' They talked about some of the recent disasters around the world: earthquakes, hurricanes, floods, and other weather related disasters. Participants shared that some of our ancestors told stories of Nature responding to ill-treatment:

> **Kaman**: Once my mother told me that when she was little, one of the boys in the village caught a seagull. It was alive and he plucked the feathers off it and let it go. And so it couldn't fly and it froze to death. And then he was out hunting by himself, and he came back to the village, and he was blind and he couldn't talk. And everybody knew what he did to the seagull. So they said that happened to him because he treated the seagull badly.
>
> **Itqiliuraq**: Mm-hm (affirmative).

Kaman: They normally don't kill seagulls or anything like that, because you can't really eat them. They don't taste good. [LAUGHTER] But it's still part of Nature; all the animals are still part of Nature, even if you don't have your own personal use for them. The people would still respect that part of Nature. (Personal communication, August 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature) is connected with *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality). If Nature is treated with disrespect, Nature retaliates. Elder Elmer Imġusriq Ballot shares, "Another piece of advice was not to brag about how easy it is to take an animal…We should always show respect for the game. This is the advice handed down by our forefathers" (Northwest Alaska Elders, 1990, pp. 14-15). Our spirit is part of Nature. The Iñupiat observe the connection with Nature and Spirit. When an Iñupiaq hunter leaves his house, he states that he is going to "go look around," never verbalizing that he is going to go out hunting. One conversation was shared about this concept:

Itqiliuraq: Well, that's where we get the statement that the caribou gave itself to you. No way did you deserve as a human in God's creation. What puts you in a position to kill, that you're also in a position to receive.

Ahnaughuq: Mm-hm (affirmative).

Itqiliuraq: And if you've respected the caribou and respected the gift of a caribou, and that's the way. And not many white people can even understand you when say, "You went moose hunting?" "Yeah." "Did you get one?" "No, but one gave itself to me, not by any great feat of my own." (Personal communication, August 2012)

Hunters may be skilled at shooting or trapping. It is the spirit of the animal that determines on how respectful the hunter acts, externally or internally. Nature is watching to make certain respect is always observed.

Nature did not always react negatively. Participants talked about still learning from Nature. We must try to understand what Nature is attempting to tell us by using all of our senses:

Asiqłuq: One of the old stories that was shared by Elders, there was one story where in a village the men were out hunting. And so they were gone for a while. And I guess this was from a female Elder that was telling the story, because she looked up, in her youth

she looked up and saw a group of ravens flying around in the distance. And at first she thought is was a bad omen, and she didn't know what to think, until later on when the ravens were coming closer and closer. It was actually the group of male hunters coming back from a successful hunt. And so it was Nature telling them that they're coming back home, and that they were successful. (Personal communication, August 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature) is connected with *Aŋunialguḷiq* (Hunter Success). The ravens were telling the *nunaaqqiq* (village) that animals gave themselves to the hunters, and they were returning home. We still have a lot to learn from Nature:

Asiqłuq: I know Oscar and other Elders; they say that what we know, we learn from Nature. Through observations we know what berries to eat, because we've seen the animals eat the right berries. We know which ones are poisonous, because we see the animals not eat those berries. I think we still have to learn from Nature, we still have more to learn from Nature, because the animals have been around a lot longer than we have. I'm sure there's more to learn from them, if only we know how to listen to them, watch them, and observe them.

Itqiliuraq: Well, I think as we become more urbanized, if that's the right word for it, we really lost a lot of our ability to communicate with Nature. And I really think that our ancestors literally were able to communicate with Nature different than we can in our modern world.

Asiqłuq: I remember one Elder saying that there're the long ago stories where animals and humans would talk with each other, they're all on an equal plane. That could still happen, but we'd have to speak our Native language to the animal for them to be able to understand us and for us to understand them. At least that's what I've been told. (Personal communication, August 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature) is connected with *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* (Domestic Skills) and *Iḷisimaliq Uqapialiġmik* (Knowledge of Language). It takes all of our senses to learn the skills to listen to Nature, observe Nature, and feel Nature, the Natural Realm.

Itqiliuraq earlier spoke of animals giving themselves to the hunter. The animal spirits in the eco-animus give themselves knowing that every part of their physical body will be used:

> **Asiqłuq**: There's another thing that I thought about, about Respect for Nature. There's a group of Indigenous people that went and visited a museum. They were able to go downstairs to their special collections. And they saw in the archives on shelves or something like that were drums that were made traditionally. And they felt really saddened about this, because here's an animal that's given himself to you, and you use every part of the animal, and you make a drum or something from the animal. And then it gets put somewhere, in a case or somewhere, and not be used. It needs to go out and needs to be heard and needs to be all these things that are part of Nature. We need to use every part of it. And when we do use it, we *use* it and not have it sit somewhere.
>
> **Itqiliuraq**: Saying that, James Nageak and I have been on this kick for a long time. But he was talking about how the museums have taken the artifacts, the things that our grandparents used and have put them in museums. That's the only way a young kid ever sees them. I told James, I said, "Not only did they put all of the artifacts, they put our ancestors, and now they're putting me in their museum, very truly. Instead of me being out with the youth and trying to teach them, now they just want to put me in my storage in a museum. And if a kid wants it, fine, that's not the way I learned them." You were intentionally taught, you were intentionally shared the world around you. (Personal communication, August 2012)

Related to Dunbar's (2008) critical race theory and Brayboy's (2005) Tribal Critical Race Theory, Itqiliuraq shares that we need to share the knowledge of our ancestors by showing our children how to operate the tools and artifacts. In this conversation, we see that *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature) is intertwined with *Kaŋiqsimauraaḷiq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality). Even after death of the physical body, everything still has a spirit. Our Iñupiaq drums still holds the spirit of the animals and of the Giant Eagle (Kakaruk & Oquilluk, 1964). To honor the spirits who have sacrificed themselves, we must see that nothing is wasted.

Participants talked about berrypicking as being part of Nature. Ugik was taught to use the wind to clean her berries. Another participant was reminded about sharing Nature:

Ahnaughuq: I have a really good Athabascan friend. And she's taught me so much about like, "Okay, this is where we should go." and "Let's go try walk over here." And one thing, we do match each other that we can walk and just check things out. We have no qualms about saying, "Okay, let's try on this side. Okay, let's try over here," even if it means that we're stair stepping on the side of the hill, what feels like stair stepping. And one thing that she would always comment is like, "Don't try to pick all of them. We don't need to clean this out, because we want to leave some for our friends." And when she said 'our friends' she meant the birds and the mice and anything that would eat the berries later.

Ugik: Mm-hm (affirmative).

Ahnaughuq: And so, she goes, "Yeah, well, pick what you think you'll need and what is ripe, and you can leave the others for rest of the animals that may want it or need it later." And that's what I always liked about her. She said, "It's my friends." She would say, "The animals are my friends." That was kinda neat, and it made me rethink the idea when you're out there, what is that animal trying to teach me? And she would always say, "Oh, look! There's a feather!" You know, it'd be like a raven feather or something. "It's so pretty. Look, it's like having a gift." And it would remind me that it is like having a gift. It would remind us that there's others in this world that have a different purpose in life, and we're just one of them. We're just one of those in the world. (Personal communication, August 2012)

In these conversations, we see that *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature) is connected with *Aatchuqtuutiḷiq Avatmun* (Sharing). Dr. John (2009) writes, "The *Yup'ik* Indigenous epistemological worldview starts with *Ellam Yua* (the creator), who is believed to have created all living inhabitants of the earth equally" (p. 21) Ahnaughuq reminds us that we humans are part of Nature, not separate from it. We share this world with animals, plants, and the Earth. Nature is our friend, and we should treat our friends with respect.

In the next section, we share our views about *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiḷiq* (Responsibility to Tribe), share how *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiḷiq* was passed down to us, and share how we pass *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiḷiq* down to our children.

Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiliq (Responsibility to Tribe)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. Qayaq killed an evil Umialik and established a new village with the handicapped, elderly, children, and widows. New principles and laws were adopted defining the role of the chief, new councils, training hunters and warriors, food gathering and preservation, festivals and communal way of life, marriages and taboos, and teaching the youth. (Brown, 1981, pp. 77-78)

In the Qayaq story, our Iñupiaq hero becomes the new Umialik for a village. The previous Umialik ruled with tyranny, killing many men without justification. Qayaq enacts new laws for the community to follow, proclaiming responsibilities for the people in the *nunaaqqiq* (village). The principles and laws complement the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* and other Iñupiaq values. Participants share their views about *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiliq* (Responsibility to Tribe).

Uqaaqtuaŋich Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiliq (Personal Stories of Responsibility to Tribe)

One of the first things we talked about during *Katimarugut* was the word 'tribe.' The concept of tribe varies from person to person. When my father was still alive and I was quite young, I asked him, "What tribe are we?" He responded that we (Iñupiat) do not use the word 'tribe.' He continued to say to we call ourselves Iñupiaq, but he did say that we are 'Kauwerakmiut,' people of the Kauwerak region. Participants began our meeting with this discussion:

> **Ugik**: When I thought about myself, "What am I going to talk about 'Responsibility to the Tribe'? Do I know my tribe?" And I guess for me, my tribe starts with my family first. And then the dance group would be my tribe. So I have responsibility to my family first. And my family helps take care of me, and I help take care of my family. And then we, as the dance group, help take care of each other and help take care of each other's

families. And that's our responsibility to the tribe. (Personal communication, August 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiłiq* (Responsibility to Tribe) is connected with *Savaqatigiiyułiq* (Cooperation). Ugik states that we take care of each other by cooperating. Still the participants continued to talk about the word 'tribe':

Itqiliuraq: Yep, you're right. Part of my thinking on this, when you presented this, what we were going to…living in Fairbanks, and 'tribe' is kind of a word we don't use in Iñupiaq that much. But for me it's more 'my culture,' because I don't live in Barrow anymore. It's hard to feel totally connected to the group of people you grew up with, and physically stand beside them with your arm around their shoulder and support them. But when I look at it as a culture we grew up in, I can speak out anywhere on that and speak up and share that. And I think we owe a responsibility to our culture to continue to uphold what our Indigenous Elders thought was important. What they taught us is still very important. And if this generation don't share it, the next generation doesn't have it. That's what keeps scaring me all the time when we talk about our responsibilities as Elders is that if this generation doesn't share, if we don't share it with our kids and our grandkids, whose going to? Whose left? (Personal communication, August 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiłiq* (Responsibility to Tribe) is connected with *Aatchuqtuutiłiq Avatmun* (Sharing), *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality), and *Savaqatigiiyułiq* (Cooperation). Participants share that 'tribe' can mean family and others in the community. It can also include the people one shared a childhood with in the *nunaaqqiq*, the ancestral land where one's spirit is linked. These are the tangible things associated with 'tribe'. One intangible thing akin to 'tribe' is 'culture.' We have a responsibility to our culture to pass down our Iñupiaq knowledge to our children.

Tagalusiaq: I really like that list that you have. It's very appropriate for living in a village, whatever a village might mean, but particularly small villages in Alaska. But those of us that don't live villages have other ways of considering Responsibility to Tribe. Certainly family, churches, your workplace, I mean there's all sorts of different arenas. But as [Itqiliuraq] mentioned, we serve as….a lot of people use us when they're

coming through town. "I need this. I need that. Will you transfer me from one plane to another?" Lots of different ways; at one time we served in foster care. It's just a way of helping, of giving. (Personal communication, August 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiliq* (Responsibility to Tribe) is connected with *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles). Ahnaughuq shares that individually some people take on the role and responsibility to act accordingly as a representative of a tribe. She also shares the interaction with other groups in Fairbanks. Hence, she is describing a responsible person. Itqiliuraq shares how a responsible person has a role to help the community by assisting in times of need. Tagalusiaq shares how the community has the role for helping the individual with family, churches, work, and other places.

Participants talked about the idea of being responsible to the tribe during ancestral times compared to contemporary times. During ancestral times, the Iñupiat looked about for the needs of the whole *nunaaqqiq* (village):

Asiqłuq: What I see is before contact, our ancestors had different responsibilities within the community. And all those responsibilities added up to the survival of the community. And then after contact, there was a concept that was introduced that really put on a competitive nature: jobs, grades, etc. You get that all the time in the school system. "Who's the first person that can answer me this question?" growing up in the Western educational system. That introduced more of a competitive nature, more of a 'me' or ego attitude.

Ahnaughuq: Individualism.

Asiqłuq: Individualism, yes. So when the Elders put together the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*, I wasn't there, but I can see why it was important to include the Responsibility to Tribe, to remember that you are part of a tribe, and to think about others besides yourself. I think that's what I interpret it as is making sure that you remember that you are responsible for other people, not to be so competitive in this new, contemporary times, post-colonialism.

Itqiliuraq: I think, Sean, in that tone, you're absolutely right. As a child, it became very obvious to the Elders that oral history…I would sit and listen to it forever. I would stand until my feet froze if you were teaching. But then came with that is that was a

> responsibility to remember those stories. Remember those values and repeat them perfectly. And I've told before the years sitting, running a Caterpillar across the Slope. I'd repeat those stories and repeat those stories and repeat those stories, hoping when the time came to repeat them. I can tell them like my Elders taught them, in the same way. That is very directly responsibility to your culture, to remember those stories and tell them so that they can be told again and again. (Personal communication, August 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiliq* (Responsibility to Tribe) is connected with *Kamakkutiliq* (Respect for Others). When we demonstrate our responsibilities for those other than ourselves, we are showing our respect toward them. Itqiliuraq points out that by remembering and sharing our stories, we actively show our responsibility to our cultural heritage. Others have shared our stories throughout the generations. It is our responsibility to keep our stories alive.

Participants talked about their roles in their families and communities. They continued to talk about passing stories down to the children, so they have a good understanding about their family background:

> **Ahnaughuq**: Yeah, I guess in today's world, we're so bombarded by the different media and the different messages that we have, outside messages all the time. Being able to have that time with your kids. And then just being able to remind them or just tell stories like that. "This is what your grandma did. This is what *Ahna* did when I was young." And then it's still passing down those values that do talk about all the other values: the Honesty, the Hard Work, the Spirituality, etc. It all ties in, and you're still keeping to the Responsibility of Tribe. I think that really flows well with it. (Personal communication, August 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiliq* (Responsibility to Tribe) is intertwined with *Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich* (Family Roles) and *Iḷisimaliq Iḷagiiḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Family Tree). Every Iñupiat has certain responsibilities within their family roles. With the hunter's role, he has the responsibility to mentor younger men. Midwives have a responsibility to pass on their knowledge to other women. *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiliq*

(Responsibility to Tribe) is also connected with *Iḷisimaliq Iḷagiiḷiġmik*, telling stories about family members who are important to the younger generation.

Kakaruk and Oquilluk (1964) share the story of the Eagle-Wolf Dance; through the hero Tuulik, they emphasize the importance of passing down the dances so that they do not get lost forever (p. 25). Participants also shared the importance of attending the dance festivals:

> **Itqiliuraq**: I think showing up for *Kivgiq* is Responsibility to your Tribe, to your culture.
>
> **Asiqłuq**: Not only that celebration, but the Wales Festival is going on. I think this week, there's one in Teller. There's the one that's in Kotzebue. So there're different types of Messenger Feasts going on.
>
> **Itqiliuraq**: Oh yeah, absolutely. That showing up for those things is the cement that holds us all together. It really is.
>
> **Ahnaughuq**: Yep. And I think like here in Fairbanks: Festival of Native Arts, WEIO, and whenever we do get an AFN and being able to join in and dance for them. (Personal communication, August 2012)

In this conversation, we see that *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiliq* (Responsibility to Tribe) is connected with *Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun* (Sharing). The sharing is the 'cement' that Itqiliuraq is referring to. The cement is sharing our dances, our food, our times, our stories, and so forth. We have a responsibility to share our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* with others and our children, so that our cultural values will not be forgotten.

In some corporate worlds, many people try to become irreplaceable in order to have job security. In my world, I want to be replaceable. I want the work that I am doing to have sustainability, to grow, to be maintained for our future generations. I want to be replaceable, so I teach my children all that I know, and then they can take stewardship on the work that was started. Writing about generativity, McAdams states, "[Adults] become more concerned with intergenerational relations. They begin to see that they may have something to offer others" (as cited in Sinnot, 2013, p. 194). The participants recognize that their *nunaaqqiq* (village) not only includes people presently living around them, but also the future generation. The descendants are part of our future, and we have a responsibility to them now by teaching our present youth how to live our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*.

Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Framework for *Nunaaqqiq* (Village)

Each Iñupiaq *nunaaqqiq* (village) has an understanding and view of our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq values). Our cultural values constantly converge with one another. For example, we see that *Aatchuqtuutiłiq Avatmun* (Sharing) converges with *Kamakkutiłiq* (Respect for Others) when we share our dances with each other and other Indigenous people. We see that *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders) converges with *Savaqatigiiyułiq* (Cooperation) when we help all our Elders in our *nunaaqqiq* (village). We see that *Kamakkutiłiq* (Respect for Others) converges with *Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq* (Avoid Conflict) when we recognize that there are other cultures, religions, and sexual orientations in the world. We see that *Savaqatigiiyułiq* (Cooperation) converges with *Aatchuqtuutiłiq Avatmun* (Sharing) when hunters help each other by sharing their knowledge. We see that *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature) converges with *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality) when we recognize that everything has a spirit. We see that *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiłiq* (Responsibility to Tribe) converges with *Aatchuqtuutiłiq Avatmun* (Sharing) when we share our knowledge, cultural heritage, and food with others. Through the discussions with the participants, we see that *Aatchuqtuutiłiq Avatmun* (Sharing), *Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik* (Respect for Elders), *Kamakkutiłiq* (Respect for Others), *Savaqatigiiyułiq* (Cooperation), *Kamaksriḷiq Nutim Iñiqtanik* (Respect for Nature), and *Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiłiq* (Responsibility to Tribe) begin with the *nunaaqqiq* (village).

The participants view the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* in the chapter *Nunaaqqiq* (Village) from their experiences with their community members. The cultural values for the *nunaaqqiq* (village) were passed down to the participants through observation and community interactions. We pass down our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* for the *nunaaqqiq* (village) by involving our children in our daily activities. Through the community stories, we see the balance of the cultural values as they converge with each topic.

In the next chapter, we conclude our journey with the conclusion of my dissertation.

Chapter 8: *Aqulliqsaaq* (Conclusion)

> Qayaq was a magical traveler who explored Alaska in search of his lost older brothers. At the end of his journey, he decided to return home to his parents. According to Brown and the Northwest Alaska Elders, Qayaq turned himself into a peregrine falcon and flew to his birthplace only to find nothing there. He was terribly saddened by the death of his parents. He turned himself into a pine grosbeak (Northwest Alaska Elders) or remained a falcon (Brown and Oman) to mourn and watch over the land. (Brown, 1981, pp. 78-80; Northwest Alaska Elders, 1991, pp. 156-157; Oman, 1995, pp. 118-119)

This is the conclusion of the longest story ever told, the epic story of an Iñupiaq hero named Qayaq. Not every encounter of Qayaq's adventures is told in this dissertation. There are more stories written and unwritten about Qayaq's epic journey. This correlates with the discussions about our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*. There were hundreds of pages in the transcripts from the *Katimarugut* meetings. Some discussions are not included due to reiterations, side conversations, or the limited length of this document. There is more to talk about for each cultural value, and it does not have to end with this dissertation. My research shows that through storytelling, the Iñupiat continue to learn through oral traditions. However inclusion of Western literacy contributes to academic understanding of Western education influences on the Iñupiat. In this *aqulliqsaaq* (conclusion), we engage the research questions, explore observations about the research experience, share my hope for the audience, discuss where we go from here and what further research is needed.

In the first section, we examine how the research addresses the research questions.

How have I answered the research questions? What did we learn from this experience?

As a reminder, my dissertation is entitled, "*Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*: Inner Views of Our Iñupiaq Values." Let us remember the research questions: 1) How do the participants view *Iñupiat*

Ilitqusiat (Iñupiaq Values)? 2) How have our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* been passed down to the participants? and 3) How do we pass down our Iñupiaq cultural heritage to our future cultural-bearers?

As I was analyzing the data and selecting the most relevant quotes from the *Katimarugut* meetings, I did not anticipate how clearly the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* converges with participants' stories. While examining the selections, I shared them with my family and the participants. As I am an auditory learner and writer. I would narrate my research into an audio recorder to transcribe and edit it for my dissertation. My family and participants helped by being my audience, asking questions whenever it was needed to clarify anything. I gave participants transcripts and drafts of my dissertation throughout my whole writing process. As I was chronicling, the results from the selections showed our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* are naturally flowing with each cultural value. The participants have views about each cultural value, and every discussion converges with other cultural values.

The participants shared how each cultural value was taught to them. The Iñupiaq values have not changed from one generation to the next, but there continue to be certain challenges teaching our children to practice our cultural values. For example, for *Iḷisimaḷiq Uqapiaḷiġmik* (Knowledge of Language), we do not have as many fluent speakers as we have had in the last few decades. According to the Alaska Native Language Center's webpage about the Iñupiaq language, "Alaska is home to about 13,500 Inupiat[13] [sic], of whom about 3,000, mostly over age 40, speak the language" (ANLC, 2007). These figures make it challenging to acquire the knowledge of language when there are not many language experts. Each cultural value is still recognized as being important to pass on but ways of achieving the cultural values in contemporary times are significantly more challenging than ancestral times.

I showed the Gillgren model (n.d.) to my participants. As I explained in Chapter 2, Gillgren distributed the 17 Iñupiaq values into three categories: Community, Culture, and Character. One person said, "This is a *naluaġmiu* [white person] way" (personal communication, 2012). The person stated that each *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* needed to be practiced at all three levels. The research we do about our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* focuses on each cultural value that we are

[13] My aunt told me to spell our way "Iñupiaq," with an n-tilde.

responsible for teaching our next generation, connecting the past literature and narrative histories to give to our descendants.

All of the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* can be part of the *iñuk*, *iḷat*, and *nunaaqqiq*. Each Iñupiaq value is present in all aspects of our lives, individually, within a family, and throughout the community. Some of the common themes are about relationships, either through family, nature, spirit, and so forth. MacLean (1988) writes, "Values remain constant but means of achieving them change" (p. 13). Even though our contemporary Iñupiaq lifestyle has drastically changed compared to our ancestors, our Iñupiaq values define who we are and will remain the same for generations. These relationships have converged throughout ancestral and contemporary times, and they continue to flow naturally, but our cultural values will always remain the same.

Connecting previous theory/theoretical frameworks to create an Iñupiaq Ilitqusiat Framework

In Chapter 4, I described how Battiste states that Indigenous and Western scholars need to recognize that Indigenous methods, methodologies, and theories could be one and the same. Tying the data with the various theories can be a challenging obstacle. One of the challenges is articulating in what way the methods, methodologies, stories, and theories are interconnected. Similarly, Dunbar (2008) writes, "Cultural studies cannot be contained within a single framework" (p. 160). With Indigenous researchers, we must draw upon more than one framework to articulate and analyze our data. Stories are an important tool for collecting data and an important source within an Indigenous research analytical framework (Archibald, 2008; John, 2009; Kawagley, 1993; Leonard, 2007; Lewis, 2009; Wilson, 2008). One challenge for Indigenous researchers is to "interpret" the stories and analysis, rather than let the reader or listener interpret a story for individual purposes (Archibald, 2008; Wilson 2008). For the purposes of this dissertation, I do provide my analysis through IIF and other literature and oral traditions. However, I encourage the reader to relate to the stories individually.

Iñuuniaqtuq (One Works to Survive)

In Chapter 4, I quoted Dr. Graham Smith, a Māori scholar from Aotearoa (New Zealand), the keynote speaker for the first Alaska Native Studies Conference (ANSC) in April 2013 held in Anchorage, Alaska. He states Indigenous researchers need to recognize our own Indigenous knowledge for our theoretical frameworks. He continued by saying the frameworks are already present with: (1) Oscar Kawagley's Yupiaq epistemology and tetrahedral model; and (2) through our cultural values. During our conversation about *Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñialiq* (Domestic Skills), one participant shared:

> **Ahnaughuq**: I'm also thinking, you know, in comparison, "How is it different from Family Roles?" A lot of our cultural values, they overlap. … But also, Domestic Skills, is it to be like what you can do for your family, so that you can ensure your survival? (Personal communication)

Ahnaughuq thought about the nuances of the Iñupiaq Values. Many participants echoed this interconnection throughout my research. The above is just one example about how Kawagley's tetrahedral supports an IIL framework from *within* our Iñupiaq Values, as Smith stated; and reinforces the connections between the three realms. These data and conversation contribute to the theories by elaborating from an Iñupiaq perspective, reinforcing Smith's 2013 keynote speech.

Iḷitchuq (One Learns, Education)

In Chapter 4, I quoted Dunbar's (2008) comments regarding critical race theory's relationship to cultural studies, "Cultural studies research is historically self-reflective, critical, interdisciplinary, conversant with high theory, and focused on the global and the local, taking into account historical, political, economic, cultural, and everyday discourses" (p. 160). Self-reflection is the key word here. One participant shared:

> **Ahnaughuq:** I think what also is being done, when we talk about these values, is we also have a lot of self-reflection. And, for myself, it's really helped me define

> who I am, I think, just thinking about it; and why I'm still Eskimo dancing, what I want to teach my kids. (Personal communication, February 2013)

Ahnaughuq has participated in every *Katimarugut*. Her self-reflection is applied to her everyday life and connects it to the importance of passing her Iñupiaq knowledge to her children. My research on the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq values) is critical and theoretical. My participants engaged global, local, historical, cultural, and education discourses in the focus group conversations.

Brayboy (2005) writes:

> TribalCrit emerges from Critical Race Theory (CRT) and is rooted in the multiple, nuanced, and historically- and geographically-located epistemologies and ontologies found in Indigenous communities. Though they differ depending on time, space, place, tribal nation, and individual, there appear to be commonalities in those ontologies and epistemologies. (p. 427)

Reinforcing Brayboy's statement, Norman Denzin writes, "Taking a lesson from GT [Grounded Theory], critical theory must be localized, grounded in the specific meanings, traditions, customs, and community relations that operate in each indigenous setting" (Denzin, 2010, p. 298). The idea of time, space, and customs boil down for CRT is 'identity'. To add to this theory, one of my participants contributed:

> **Itqiliuraq**: Yep, you're right. Part of my thinking on this, when you presented this, what we were going to…living in Fairbanks, and 'tribe' is kind of a word we don't use in Iñupiaq that much. But for me it's more 'my culture,' because I don't live in Barrow anymore. It's hard to feel totally connected to the group of people you grew up with, and physically stand beside them with your arm around their shoulder and support them. (Personal communication, August 2012

Though Itqiliuraq no longer lives in Barrow, he still maintains his identity from what he knows (ontology) and how he knows (epistemology) through the multigenerational education in his community.

Taimakŋa (From Time Immemorial Forever)

In Chapter 4, I quoted O'Leary's insights (2014) into grounded theory as, "Taken up by researchers who believe it is important to cast aside all preconceived notions and simply let the data tell the story" (p. 315). The participants have told their stories in my research. For Indigenous grounded theory, there seems to me more than just data telling the story. Denzin (2010) writes, "Indigenous GT inquiry is performative. It connects research to struggles for liberation, to struggles which empower, which challenge the status quo, rebuild leadership, restore environments, and revitalize language, culture, and community" (p. 427). There is rebuilding and revitalization actively involved with Indigenous GT. In my research, an Iñupiaq grounded theory involves resiliency and recognition of the validity of past, present, and future Iñupiaq knowledge:

> **Kaman**: Respect for Others is an important cultural value, because everybody has a different role, everybody has different talents and different abilities. And you have to understand that just because somebody's different from you, they can still be equal. And in a village situation long time ago everybody had to work together. And everybody had different community roles and family roles. And everybody made a contribution even though they had different talents and different abilities, and they were still an important part of the group. (Personal communication, April 2013)

The story (data) from this participant expresses the importance of remembering ancestral knowledge, applying it to the future, and prepare for the future for the survival of Iñupiaq identity and values.

Iñupiatun (Language)

In Chapter 4, I quoted Christopher Lalonde's concept of cultural resilience in Aboriginal communities, "When communities succeed in promoting their cultural heritage and in securing

control of their own collective future—in claiming ownership over their past and future—the positive effects reverberate across many measures of youth health and well-being" (as cited in Flynn et al., 2006, p. 67). The *unipkaat* (legends) tell how singing, dancing, and feast emerged to promote health and well-being among humans, other creatures, and the spiritual world. I included the legend of Tuulik, a great hunter, who kills a Giant Eagle and learns singing, dancing, and celebrations as a model of organizing my dissertation (Kakaruk & Oquilluk, 1964). I also include an excerpt of the longest Iñupiaq ever told – Qayaq – as an example for each cultural value and chapter. These stories help articulate how this dissertation was organized and provides examples of our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq Values) are embedded in our *unipkaat* (legends). A participant shares:

> **Itqiliuraq**: I can say that the news moved around in Barrow quite often was at Al's Cafe or at Tom Brower's Store. And they had a potbelly stove in the middle of both of those rooms. And the old men would sit around. And I can never remember being run out totally. And I would just hang around, pretending I was freezing to death, just to listen to the old man, you know, talk and tell stories. And I'm sure a lot of the stories were told because us kids were standing there. You know, and they were, without us knowing, they were teaching us. (Personal communication, March 2013)

Continuing these *unipkaat* helps promote resiliency in all of our communities.

New knowledge contributed through this dissertation

Katimarugut (We Are Meeting - An Iñupiaq Methodology)

In any graduate research, one must identify the underlying assumptions of various research paradigms, and the interrelated philosophical principles of epistemology, ontology and axiology. Many people conduct research and work with Alaska Native communities, so a grasp of an Alaska Native epistemology is crucial. During my first-year as a doctoral student, I identified an Iñupiaq research method, *Katimarugut*, a culturally meaningful methodology did not exist for the participants.

I utilize another perspective from Wilson's book wherein an Indigenous scholar shares with Shawn Wilson:

> This is how I look at an Indigenous cultural system, an Indigenous way of doing things. Say you have a fire, and you have people sitting in a circle around the fire. And you ask any person to describe the fire. While they are describing it, and you are looking at the same fire, it's not the same thing. But that doesn't mean they are wrong. They are at a different vantage point altogether. So we say, if we share this information in the circle, we share this experience, the collective experience; we will get a bigger picture. (Wilson, 2008, p. 112)

While we discussed each *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*, each person had his or her own view of the Iñupiaq value. There may be some similar experiences, and some people may have some different views. Having these different vantage points shared with each other during *Katimarugut*, helps to provide a collective understanding, a more balanced and holistic perspective on the topic of theory and methodology. The process of *Katimarugut* may be able to help us find out more about this reality. This collective knowledge making is, as Wilson suggests, much like a ceremony.

One of the questions about choosing my methodology was "What general methods do you plan to use (qualitative, quantitative, mixed)?" After carefully examining the available theoretical frameworks and seeing that my research about our Iñupiaq cultural values, I could not identify a relevant methodology. I need to use Iñupiaq cultural inquiries in order to conduct research with Iñupiat people, in order to be culturally sensitive. When we have *Katimarugut* (We are Meeting), stories and experiences shared by the participants may include qualitative data. So I utilized a qualitative approach, following an Iñupiaq methodology practiced for generations. This Iñupiaq methodology is not something new for many Indigenous people, but it is now applied and formalized for Western academia.

Our place and spirit are not separated. *Katimarugut* (We are Meeting) is situated in Iñupiaq cultural heritage and spirituality by sharing our personal stories and stories of our ancestors. I asked myself, "How does *Katimarugut* contribute to further research?" Other Indigenous researchers may borrow the idea of their ancestral methodologies as their own, but

would most likely identify it in their own language and cultural values because it is local, particular and situated.

Participants are asking for more *Katimarugut* for other Iñupiaq values from the North Slope, Seward Peninsula, and inland Iñupiat. We had children present during the *Katimarugut,* though they did not contribute to the research but listened to the discussions. After my research data collection was finished, my youngest son (he was nine years old at the time) even asked, "When is the next *Katimarugut*?" This reassures me that we need to continue meeting and deepen our understanding of cultural values.

Iñupiaq Ilitqusiat Framework (IIF)

One cultural value is not higher than another, but they are interrelated. That is one of the reasons the design for the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* that we created (see Chapter 1) is not a list, but rather it is the cultural values circling the Iñupiaq Raven that represents an Iñupiaq person, family, or community. This IIF was identified during my master's research, and then it was further developed during my doctoral research. The IIF particularly revealed itself as I was transcribing and writing my dissertation. Though many Indigenous people and scholars recognize this holistic approach in their own communities, this original contribution formalizes a theoretical framework from an Indigenous perspective for Western academia.

I have provided an example of an authentic Iñupiaq dissertation as another original contribution for Indigenous researchers. My research is *by, for*, *with,* and *about* the Iñupiat. My Iñupiaq methodology is based on our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq values). My *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Framework* illustrates a holistic way of interpreting research. My dissertation is based on our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* in the following ways:

> *Kaŋiqsimauraaliq Irrutchikun* (Spirituality) – The participants' spirituality provide a greater understanding of the inner views of what it means to be Iñupiaq. It is also a foundation of our cultural values, well-being, family, community, sense of life, and our connection to the environment.
>
> *Atchiksualiq* (Humility) – Each participant learned a lot about our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* through the views of others.

Paaqsaaqatautaiḷiq (Avoid Conflict) – I gave copies of transcripts and drafts to the participants to confirm accuracy and avoid conflict.

Iḷisimaɬiq Uqapiaɬiġmik (Knowledge of Language) – I utilize Iñupiaq words and phrases first to articulate my research wherever possible before using Western terminology.

Savvaqtuɬiq (Hard Work) – I now have a better understanding of the process to receive a doctoral degree with revisions of my dissertation, gathering and analyizing the data, and interpreting the data for Western academia and other audiences. This journey has taught me the value of collaboration with other Native groups to revive culture, language, and pass knowledge down to the youth.

Quvianniuɬikun Tipsisaaġiḷiq (Humor) – The humor shared by my particpants, family, committee members, friends, and fellow students has helped keep me grounded and motivated in my work.

Iḷisimaɬiq Iḷagiiḷiġmik (Knowledge of Family Tree) – Some of the research I have shared is based on my knowledge from my family tree.

Aŋayuqaaġiich Savaaksraŋich (Family Roles) – Throughout this experience, I did not neglect my role as a father, grandfather, and husband. My family encouraged me to continue with my research, giving me the strength to complete my graduate program.

Piqpaksriḷiq Iḷiḷgaanik (Love for Children) – This research is primarily for the Iñupiaq children, to help them understand our cultural values.

Kiŋuniġmi Suraġatlasiñiaɬiq (Domestic Skills) – I gained listening skills, writing skills, research skills, and so much more.

Aŋunialguɬiq (Hunter Success) – Hunting down references and participants. We also served food we successfully hunted, fished, and harvested.

Aatchuqtuutiliq Avatmun (Sharing) – We shared *uqaaqtuat* (personal stories) with each other. I plan to share this dissertation on the Alaska Native Knowledge Network website and in the Center for Cross-Cultural Studies library.

Kamaksriḷiq Utuqqanaanik (Respect for Elders) – The knowledge from the Elders is shared in each cultural value sections. Elders were usually present at all of our meetings.

Kamakkutiłiq (Respect for Others) – I encourage others to listen and learn about our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq values) and share their own cultural values.

Savaqatigiiyułiq (Cooperation) – The research from this dissertation would not be valuable and representative without the collaboration from all of the participants.

Kamaksriłiq Nutim Iñiqtanik (Respect for Nature) – Nature was present in all of our meetings, whether it was the food that we were eating or the discussion about weather.

Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiłiq (Responsibility to Tribe) – We are responsible to teach these cultural values to our children so that the Iñupiat will survive.

With this authentic Iñupiaq dissertation, I also use Iñupiaq terminology and ways of knowing to articultate the inner views of my participants.

Where do we go from here? What further research is needed?

It is not my hope that the readers of this dissertation try to emulate the examples given by the participants. My hope is that readers will reflect on their own views of their own cultural values. My hope is that readers will talk about cultural values with the community and children, post what they mean to them on social media, and share with other groups to find commonalities.

There are some children in contemporary times who still need to learn and demonstrate our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*. The participants continue to hear stories of some grandchildren going into their grandparents' houses and stealing money and prescription medicine. Very seldomly the participants hear stories of some hunters killing walruses just for their tusks. Whenever we hear these stories we become very saddened. It is imperative that we teach our children about our *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat* (Iñupiaq values) through demonstration.

The idea of challenging the status quo, rebuilding leadership, restoring environments, and revitalizing language, culture, and community are themes significant to much I engage in my Iñupiat Ilitqusiat Framework.

The examples of each cultural value in this research are from a small portion of Iñupiat. Every Iñupiaq needs to continue talking about our cultural values and recognizing how each is observed in our everyday lives. There are other sets of Iñupiaq values and other Indigenous cultural values worldwide and further research is needed to examine all cultural values. Everyone

has a culture, and everyone has cultural values to draw upon to help define who they are and shape their beliefs and values as an Indigenous person.

Other Indigenous researchers may use stories and sharing stories as a methodology for future research. *Katimarugut*, an Inupiaq methodology is very timely in the research world with the increasing visibility of storytelling as a methodology with intergenerational research and programming.

More Indigenous researchers conducting their own Indigenous research are needed; this dissertation provides a unique insider's perspective on research occurring in their communities. Going through graduate courses helped me become more articulate when writing for the academic world. As an Indigenous researcher, it is my hope to help bridge the high level of thinking of academics and researchers with my Indigenous brothers and sisters to articulate our knowledge for the children and our descendants.

Akkumii

(The end of a story)

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Appendices

Appendix A - Documented Iñupiaq Values

Northwest: Kotzebue Area

Inupiat
Ilitqusiat

Every Inupiaq is responsible to all other Inupiat for
The survival of our cultural spirit, and the values
And traditions through which it survives. Through
Our extended family, we retain, teach, and live our Inupiaq way.

With guidance and support from Elders,
We must teach our children Inupiaq values:

Knowledge of Language • Knowledge of Family Tree
Sharing • Humility
Respect for Others • Love for Children
Cooperation • Hard Work
Respect for Elders • Respect for Nature
Avoid Conflict • Family Roles
Humor • Spirituality
Domestic Skills • Hunter Success
Responsibility to Tribe

Our understanding of our universe
And our place in it is a belief in God
And a respect for all His creations.

NANA

Mission

Sitnasuak's mission is to earn profits on operations while protecting our land, culture and benefiting shareholders. Our corporate values are deeply rooted in the traditional values and ethical beliefs of the Inupiaq culture. These values and beliefs are the fundamental source of our corporation's strength and power. With guidance and support from our Elders, whose ancestors' roots can be traced to the far corners of the earth, we seek to always live according to these values:

- Spirituality - *ukpaisrun*
- Commitment to the Family - *munnakLui kiŋunnaisi*
- Love of Children - *nagguagiktut ilagit*
- Respect of Elders - *utuqannat kammagiralui*
- Respecting Others - *nagguagiktut ilagit*
- Hard Work - *saġiknatuak sauaq*
- Reverence Toward Nature - *kammakLui nunamiituat*
- Cooperation - *kattiiLutiŋ sahuagat*
- Sharing - *pikkaagupsi aitturalui*
- Honesty - *nagguatun kulliaglutin*
- Obedience - *kammakLui*
- Patience - *uttakiragagin*
- Humor - *quyniuŋniq*
- Humility - *qinuinnaq*
- Responsibility - *aŋalataasran*
- Pride in Culture - *puyaunau iupiaqtun iLLusiq*
- Avoidance of Conflict - *aziusrat sugunnai*
- Open Communication - *kanniglusi*
- Speaking Our Traditional Language - *inupiuraġluta*

Nome enjoys a history of cultural diversity and innovation. This tradition of cultural diversity, coupled with our core values of the Inupiaq culture, has created a vitality and openness in our corporation that makes us eager to tackle challenges and pursue new opportunities.

(Retrieved from http://www.snc.org/company-profile)

IÑUPIAT VALUES

Avanmun Ikayuutiniq	Helping Each Other
Avilaitqatigiigñiq	Friendships
Iḷagiigñiq	Family Relations/Roles
Iḷammiuġniq	Creating Friends
Iglutulguniq	Endurance
Ikayuqtigiigñiq	Cooperation
Irruaqliġñaiññiq	No Mockery
Kipakkutaiññiq	Respect for Human, Animals, Property and Land
Mitaallatuniq	Sense of Humor
Nagliktuutiqaġniq	Compassion
Nakuaqqutiqaġniq	Love
Piḷlaktautaiññiq	Gentleness
Piqpakkutiqaġniq Miqliqtunun	Love for Children
Pitqiksiġautaiññiq	Honesty
Qiksiksrautiqaġniq	Respect for Others
Qimmaksautaiññiq	Patience
Sigñataiññiq	Sharing

WHAT AN IÑUPIAQ PERSON VALUES

Aṇuniaġniqput	Our Hunting Traditions
Anaktaġniq	Traditional Games
Atuutipiavut, Sayuutivut	Eskimo Dances and Songs
Miqliqtuvut	Our Children
Niġrutit	Animals
Niqivut	Our Traditional Foods
Nuna Iñuuniaġvikput	Land of Our Sustenance
Quliaqtuat, Unipkaat	Stories and Legends
Suliavut	Arts and Crafts
Surġausivut	Traditions/Customs
Taġiuq Iñuuniaġvikput	Sea of Our Sustenance
Uqaġniqput Iñupiatun	Iñupiat Language
Utuqqanaat Iḷisimmataat	Elders Knowledge
Utuqqanaat Isumattutaat	Elders Wisdom

Inupiaqatigiigniq

Qiksiksrautiqagniq
Respect

Utuqqanaanun
Elders

Allanun
Others

Inuuniagvigmun
Nature

Ilagiigniq
Family Kinship and Roles
Signatainniq
Sharing
Inupiuraallaniq
Knowledge of Language
Paammaagiinniq
Cooperation
Piqpakkutiqagniq
Love and Respect for One Another
Quviangunig
Humor
Anuniagniq
Hunting Traditions
Naglikkutiqagniq
Compassion
Qinuinniq
Humility
Paaqtaktautainniq
Avoidance of Conflict
Ukpiqqutiqagniq
Spirituality

Illisagvik College North Slope Borough

Eskimo Cultural Values

Legacy of Paul Tiulana

Nunakut munaqsriigikut.
We take care of our land.
MunaqsriGaqtuut qiniGnaituamik.
We have a caretaker, we cannot see.
Ilavut nakliiluit.
We take care of each other.
Pilguittuat igayalugit.
We take care of those who do not Do well.
KaaNniuqtuat niGipkalugit.
We feed the hungry.
Utuqanaat TaluGilugit.
We respect the elderly.

AGnat aNutit aipaaqtuat munaGinaqtut.
We take care of widows and widowers.
Uiviilat kituNaita munaGinaqtut.
We take care of anyone's children.
Aziuriuruanik nalurut ipkua.
Our ancestors did not know criminals.
Aziuruat naluNilait.
People who do wrong are corrected on the Spot.
IkkayuGiikLutiN iNiliGaan ikayuwait.
People always helped each other.
IGliniNmik nalurut.
People did not know how to be stingy.

Kawerak

Appendix B - Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form (for participation in)

Iñupiat Ilitqusiat: Inner Views of the Iñupiaq Values

Description of the Study:

You are being asked to take part in a research about the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*, Iñupiaq values. The goal of this research is to determine Iñupiaq values that have been passed down from generation to generation, through personal experience. You are being asked to take part in this study because you are of Iñupiaq descent, a member of the Pavva Iñupiaq Dancers of Fairbanks, or have an Iñupiaq descendent living in your household; and you are eighteen years old or older. If you decide to take part, I will observe your participation in this project and have informal conversations and maybe formal interviews about the project. I will take notes, and if you agree, I may record interviews with you on a digital voice recorder. Please read this form and ask any questions you may have before you agree to be in the study.

Risks and Benefits of Being in the Study:

There are no major risks to you if you participate in this study. Some people are uncomfortable being observed or interviewed, and I will make every effort to provide a comfortable atmosphere if you agree to participate. Your participation in this program will help us create a better understanding of the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*. As a participant, you may receive benefits such as education about the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*, but there is no guarantee that you will benefit directly from taking part in this study. This study may be beneficial to other Native groups studying their own cultural heritage through Native values; and a source of identification and cultural strength in knowing what others have identified as important. If you would like to review the project in its entirety, it will be housed at the Alaska Native Knowledge Network and Center for Cross-Cultural Studies offices on the 1st floor of the Bunnell Building.

Confidentiality:

Because I am conducting this study as a part of my research through the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF), the results will be available to other people. However, I will not collect any identifying information about you in this study, and will make every effort to protect your identity. Any information about you as an individual that you reveal in conversations or interviews will be kept strictly confidential and secure in a locked office at UAF. This signed release form will be stored securely and separately, making it difficult to link you to this study. Only I will listen to any audio recordings that I make, and I will transcribe the parts that I need, and then erase the recordings after completion of my dissertation. You may request any copies of recordings of you for your own use. I may ask to record informal or formal interviews during scheduled discussions surrounding the themes of the *Iñupiat Ilitqusiat*. If you agree to be recorded, I cannot guarantee your confidentiality; because you are a participant in the Pavva Iñupiaq Dancers of Fairbanks, people familiar with the dance group may guess your identity from your answers to some questions.

I would like to include your name or other identifiable information in my dissertation crediting results from my research project. I want to identify you for attribution and explanatory purposes. However, you have the option to not have your name used when data from this study are published; if this is the case, please indicate so on this form.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Your decision to take part in the study is voluntary. You are free to choose not to take part in the study or to stop taking part at any time without any penalty to you.

Contacts and Questions:

If you have questions now, feel free to ask me. If you have questions later, you may contact me at 907-455-4269 or sean@ankn.uaf.edu or my faculty sponsor Beth Leonard at 907-474-1588 or brleonard@alaska.edu.

If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject, please contact the Research Coordinator in the Office of Research Integrity at 474-7800 (Fairbanks area) or 1-866-876-7800 (outside the Fairbanks area) or fyirb@uaf.edu.

Statement of Consent:

By signing this form you agree that you understand the procedures described above, your questions have been answered to your satisfaction and you have been provided a copy of this form. You agree to participate in this study in the specific activities initialed below.

_____ I consent to participating in a group meeting **AND** being recorded.

_____ I consent to participating in a group meeting but **NOT** being recorded.

_____ I consent to being recorded while being interviewed.

_____

Signature and Printed Name of Subject & Date

_____

Signature of researcher, C. Sean Topkok & Date

Please indicate whether you agree to have your full name used alongside your comments in the final dissertation that results from this research.

__**YES**(If you change your mind about this at any point, please let the researcher know)

__**NO**

__**ALTERATION**:

Name or pseudonym to be used:_____